

JPRS 84903

7 December 1983

# Near East/South Asia Report

No. 2863

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7 December 1983

## NEAR EAST/SOUTH ASIA REPORT

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CHADLI BENDJEDID'S POLICIES, CHANGES ANALYZED

Paris LE MONDE in French 4, 5 Nov 83

[Article by Paul Balta: "Chadli's Algeria"]

[4 Nov 83 pp 1, 5]

[Text] I. "For a Better Life"

Algiers--His name is Bendjedid, but everyone calls him by his first name, Chadli. And although an official bulletin stated, at the time of his election to the highest office in the land almost 5 years ago, that his last name should be used, the Algerian press has become accustomed to writing the more familiar "President Chadli." The ice was thus broken immediately between the Algerians and the man they had just elected but whom they scarcely knew, except in the western region where he had served as head of the military region of Oran.

Breaking with the somewhat stilted tradition surrounding the celebration of the anniversary of the revolution at the People's Palace on 1 November 1979, he held a reception at the Hotel Aurassi (*Les Aures* in French). For the first time since independence, ministers and high officials were invited along with their wives and mixed with the guests, while the smiling president went from group to group instead of remaining confined to a small sitting room, as his predecessor had done. "That is how they create the Chadli style," one diplomat posted in Algiers for years observed in amazement. In less than a year, Algeria had gone from tension to relaxation.

Mohamed Boukharrouba, "the man with the carob tree" whom Chadli succeeded, had forged a *nom de guerre*: Houari Boumediene. He had created the state and endowed the country with stable institutions. Above all, he had "a certain idea of Algeria," just as De Gaulle had "a certain idea of France," and wanted to "restore its place" in the world. Proud, austere, authoritarian, moody, that monk-soldier had also been concerned with grandeur.

Of all the countries of the Maghreb, it is Algeria that experienced the longest and most confining colonization. Its personality had been denied by the colonizer and often questioned by its own neighbors. Boumediene wanted to give it its revenge over history. He therefore made it the most powerful and most

dynamic nation in the region, the leader of the nonaligned countries and, by 1974, the initiator of the new international order. But these results were achieved by a "forced march" and at the cost of harsh austerity.

Boumediene had definitely embodied one aspect of the character of the Algerians, rugged as their burnoose, fierce as their high plateaux. But these same Algerians, who, after 8 years of war, had tightened their belts for 15 years, wanted to enjoy the fruits of their efforts. Like the good Mediterraneans they are, they aspired to more democracy and a higher level of well-being. Boumediene had foreseen this as early as 1976, when he started work on the National Constitution, which roused broad debate. The drafting of the 1978-1982 development plan, which never saw the light of day because of the death of the chief of state in December 1978, already emphasized the "blockages" of Algerian society and its determination to "live better." But it is President Chadli who would respond to that aspiration with the 1980-1984 5-Year Plan decided upon at the Fourth Congress of the FLN, whose slogan was "For a Better Life."

#### Real Boss

Boumediene was the boss of the army. Colonel Chadli was backed by the army, where he made his entire career. Nothing had prepared him for the leadership of government and the political arena. Consequently, clans formed as soon as he was elected. Everyone wanted to exercise influence over him, even assure themselves power. Their rivalries paralyzed the administration somewhat, with everyone waiting to see who would win out before starting to work. A man of great honesty, President Chadli did not have the reputation of being a "schemer." Nevertheless, to the great surprise of his adversaries, he did maneuver, taking advantage of their rivalries to divide and weaken, then finally eliminate them from the leadership bodies.

At the same time, he attacked the corruption running rampant at different levels of government and was concerned over the arrogant fortunes accumulated by certain "dignitaries" considered to be "untouchable" during Boumediene's time. In so doing, he strengthened his popularity -- although the man in the street wonders why certain "barons" are still spared -- neutralized other potential adversaries and imposed himself as the "real boss" half way through his term in 1981.

Henceforth, his hands would be free to follow the economic and social policy defined at the beginning of his term, after having drawn up a list of the errors and gaps of the preceding period. He also announced his colors by abolishing unpopular measures such as the authorization to leave the territory and by attacking many taboos that had become excessively restrictive for Algeria. Likewise, he decided to free Ahmed Ben Bella, who, through his turbulent activism and excessive statements, had lost his halo and brought him 15 years of house arrest in Algeria.

A new political test awaited the government: the challenge of the Muslim activists. Since Islam is the state religion, authorities have been careful not to cross swords with the fundamentalists on the field of faith or ideology.

The security services, always powerful and well-organized, infiltrated what are known in Algiers drawing rooms as the "FM" (Muslim Brotherhoods and struck, it is said, when that "subversive organization" was preparing to commit "terrorist acts." The fundamentalist phenomenon has not disappeared, but the warning was heeded: One practically sees no more "brothers" ostensibly wearing beards and the white djellabah, as one did 2 or 3 years ago.

#### Reality of Decentralization

The elimination of certain administrative hindrances -- many remain -- also helped make daily life less of an obstacle course. Markets are well-supplied, even if some unsubsidized products remain abnormally expensive. "Why are potatoes at 6 dinars (1 Algerian dinar = 1.7 francs), peppers at 14, almonds at 35 and fish, which is out of reach, three to five times more expensive than in Spain or Morocco and Tunisian neighbors?" one Algerian asks. Household appliances are displayed in the windows, one can order spare parts directly from abroad and the cost of vacations beyond the border has gone from 300 to 1,000 dinars. Algerians can now become the owners of housing left vacant by the French upon independence. These and other measures have helped relax the atmosphere. People speak of everything more freely. But at the same time, they are more demanding, fidget with impatience and often find that the reforms are neither fast enough nor broad enough.

Pragmatic, effective and direct, President Chadli has attacked other taboos. One of Algeria's main handicaps was the excessive unwieldiness and centralism of his administration and of the 70 national companies, considered by Boumediene as the "backbone" of the economy. Today, they have been broken up into some 400 enterprises, whose headquarters must, whenever possible, be decentralized and located in production zones where the factories are found. These new directions should be operational by the beginning of 1984.

Decentralization is beginning to become a concrete reality in other sectors. One case among many illustrates the approach that is aimed at relieving the congestion of the capital and the big metropolitan areas of the east and the west, at making local officials responsible and keeping people where they are in order to halt the rural exodus. The Boumediene team had tried to make the road system, like a circulatory system, link up the 31 wilaya (governorates) (departmental capitals) of the country. "Today," Mohamed Kortebi, minister of public works, tells us, "we are trying to open up the isolated villages. In 3 years, we build 2,225 kilometers of trails and communal roads and we are working on 4,000 more. That is a lot when one realizes that the whole network, probably the best in Africa, has 80,000 kilometers, two-thirds of which are paved."

At the same time, the Ministry of Energy is stepping up the electrification of the country, especially in rural areas, to which 1.2 billion dinars will have been devoted in 1983. Between 1980 and 1984, Algerians will have built 26,000 kilometers of electric lines, compared with 10,000 in 16 years (1962-1978), while a network of pipelines and storage tanks must be gradually set up so that the entire population may have gas or butane. "Providing electricity and gas for the peasants and mountain people is also one way to

fight the destruction of the forests," explains Belkacem Nabi, minister of energy and the petrochemical industries.

Another facet of this effort: the railroad. "In the 1970's, we concentrated our efforts on roads. Now we are emphasizing the railroad, which is more expensive to build, but whose profitability and longevity are greater," Minister of Transport Salah Goudjil told us. The fact is that the network under construction and being planned -- impressive because of the size of the country -- must complement the road system and aid in the development of the high plateaus, an undertaking that has been discussed for 20 years but never seriously carried out. Like his colleagues, Goudjil emphasizes that "we must begin to build the Algeria of the year 2000 in order to meet the challenge of the post-oil period."

Meeting that challenge presumes that Algerians will work much harder than they have, increase productivity, reduce waste and better manage the great patrimony they have built since 1965. Under Boumediene, the plants which operated at only 30- or 40-percent capacity were one of the things the man on the street joked about. "Today, the use rate is 75 percent, compared with 50 percent in 1979," says Abdelhamid Brahimi, minister of planning. And it is not by accident that the slogan of the Fifth Congress of the FLN, planned for December, is "work and rigor in order to guarantee the future," which facetious Algerians have turned into "work, if need be...."

#### Stimulating the Private Sector

The previous plan gave priority to the long-neglected social aspects, housing, a sector in which, despite recent efforts, needs are blatantly obvious, and agriculture, the great failure of the succeeding governments since independence. What is new is that officials admit it openly -- it will be one of the major themes of the congress and the next plan for 1985-1989 -- seeking effective solutions. One of them consists of selling or actually giving the land to those who work it.

One of the most significant innovations of President Chadli is precisely that of stimulating the private sector. The latter did exist under Boumediene but, held in suspicion, it looked somewhat clandestine. "It was developing in an anarchic fashion," Brahimi admits, before adding that in July 1982, the National Assembly passed three laws in order to encourage handicrafts, the national private sector and the joint public and private sector. "Since the publications of the application orders in April," he says, "we have approved over 360 files for the establishment of enterprises, representing over a billion dinars and over 6,000 jobs." However, he hastens to add that "the strategic sectors will remain in the hands of the state." It is quite true that although Algeria may be becoming a little more liberal, it has not in any way embarked upon the path of economic liberalism.

Finally, the chief of state has set about finding new political personnel, thus upsetting, discreetly but surely, some taboos. In fact, some *mujahidin* (veterans) had in time turned their participation in the resistance into a "profitable situation." But, 29 years after the 1 November uprising, it is

time to change teams with cadres trained since independence to respond to the requirements of a society that has become more difficult and more complex. The next congress could well give a hefty boost to the renewal. A sign of the times also, the government, which had previously refused to do so, has just instituted an "order of national merit" and "decorations for the

The new focus in the political and economic fields could not fail to have an effect diplomatically. In a world in crisis facing increasing numbers of conflicts, President Chadli has opted for caution and moderation.

#### Warm Meetings

The reception given by President Chadli Bendjedid on Tuesday, 1 November, to celebrate the 29th anniversary of the beginning of the liberation struggle in 1954 was an innovation and resulted in "warm, emotional meetings," to use the expression of one of the guests. In fact, the chief of state, who once again mingled with his guests, had invited to the People's Palace former comrades in arms that Boumediene has kept aside and who had not been seen at official receptions in years.

In particular, one noted the presence of Colonel Zbiri, former chief of Boumediene's staff; Hadj Lakhar, head of Wilaya 1; Saout el Arab, head of Wilaya 2; Ouamrane, head of Wilaya 4; Menjeli, member of the staff; and Major Ezzedine, author of "We Were All Fellaghas." Also attending were Yacef Saadi, head of the autonomous zone; Ali Mahsas, former minister of Ben Bella and Boumediene who spent several years in exile in Europe; and Saad Dahlab, who was minister of foreign affairs of the GPRA [Provisional Government of the Algerian Republic].

The same day, President Chadli signed three documents on retirement guaranteeing "material security and dignity" to all former cadres of the ALN (National Liberation Army) and the FLN (National Liberation Front) who had participated in the liberation struggle and the construction of the young nation.

[5 Nov 83 p 5]

[Text] In the first part of his article (LE MONDE, 4 November), Paul Balta studied changes in Algerian society since the death of Boumediene and the new "Chadli style."

Algiers--"Chadliism is realism," Algerians say and foreign visitors of the chief of state are struck by the at once cautious and resolute attitude he adopts vis-a-vis the major domestic and foreign problems. The man in the street, who spares no criticism or jokes about officials, has nevertheless nicknamed Chadli "the sage" and government cadres say, winking at the French, "He is our calm strength." It is precisely that realism that governed the "reorientation" of foreign policy, although it remains essentially marked by continuity and is still based on two pillars: national independence and non-alignment.

Boumediene's presidency of the Movement of Nonaligned Nations from 1973 to 1976 had gone to the heads of Algerian leaders because of successes won on the world scene. They had the feeling they could act like a great power in order to institute a new international order. Also playing the role of the "thinking head" of OPEC, they yielded to the fascination of state-of-the-art technology, of which they had only imperfect mastery, although they were unquestionably the pioneers in the field of LNP (liquefied natural gas). The prestige they had derived therefrom cost them dearly, however, and gave them vertigo.

Facing the world crisis, President Chadli learned his lessons from it: Algeria is an average country with limited possibilities which it makes up for by its determination and jealous defense of its independence. Moreover, it is in order to preserve the latter that a new balance has been achieved domestically, as the president recalled in his message on the state of the nation delivered on the occasion of the 29th anniversary of 1 November 1954. He explained: "We have decided to postpone certain gigantic projects," including the LNG plant 3.

Another major choice: reducing the debt by bringing imports down to some 15 percent of the GNP a year during the 1974-1977 4-year plan and to 6 percent during the 1980-1984 5-year plan. These imports, amounting to 58 million dinars -- 47 million for goods and 11 million for services -- are in 1983 equivalent in real terms to those of 1982, while the amount of the debt, some \$15 billion, is slightly under that of last year. Furthermore, if great emphasis is placed on the recovery of agriculture, it is not only from a social perspective, but also in order to reduce the country's food dependency.

Likewise, it is out of a concern for better management and independence that, taking advantage of the world crisis, Africa achieved a new balance in hydrocarbon exports. Until 1979, sales of crude represented 75 percent of all export receipts in foreign exchange and LNG 25 percent. At the present time, the breakdown is as follows: 23 percent for crude; 25 percent for LNG and gaseous gases; 25 percent for condensate; 22 percent for refined oil; and the remaining 5 percent for products other than hydrocarbons.

Boumediene had made air, ocean and road transport an element of his Arab and African foreign policy. The Trans-Saharan, or African Unity Road, which links Algiers with Tamanrasset and is to extend to Niger and Mali, was one of the symbols of it. Here again, the approach now adopted illustrates the principle: "Algeria First." Actually, the Malian and Nigerien sections may not be ready before 1988 and the Algerians have therefore slowed down work toward In-Guezzam, on the Nigerien border 500 kilometers away, and concentrated their efforts on repairs and widening of the last section leading to Tamanrasset and the oasis has developed considerably because of the road. It now has 20,000 inhabitants and its international airport should soon connect it directly with Paris.

On the purely diplomatic and geopolitical level, Algeria, which has a triple Arab, African and Mediterranean vocation and a moral tie with the countries of Islam, remains very attached to nonalignment, but it is also aware that the world crisis, the worsening of East-West tension and the diversification

of situations in the Third World have caused the Movement of Nonaligned Nations to lose its cohesion. Whence the appeal made by President Chadli in his message on the state of the nation: "Third World countries must become aware that the revision of the international order, with all its political, economic, social and cultural elements, is a fact that imposes itself, just as an unreserved solidarity between Third World nations constitutes a vital necessity."

#### Relying on Oneself

But while remaining active and vigilant, the Algerian leaders do not have too many illusions. The Third Worldist proselytism that characterized Boumediene is no longer fitting: "We must first of all rely on ourselves," President Chadli proclaims. And his minister of foreign affairs, Dr Ahmed Taleb Ibrahim, echoes him in telling us: "Our policy is first of all pro-Algerian, pro-Algerian second and finally, pro-Algerian. It is in that sense that one can speak of a 'reorientation' of our diplomacy."

Algerians are doubly disappointed with respect to the Arab world: nationally, first of all, insofar as, they say, "we do not seek to export our revolution and we do not meddle in the affairs of others." Lacking Arabic language teachers, they have appealed to "brother countries" in the Near East and have observed that the Iraqi, Syrian, Egyptian and other technical assistants were too frequently Ba'thist, communist or fundamentalist activists seeking to recruit Algerians. The acceleration of the training of teachers and cadres and the decision to build a scientific research compound are aimed, in Chadli's own words, to prevent "the alteration of our national identity."

Internationally speaking, leaders do not conceal their consternation over the Syrian-Iraqi hostility, conflicts between Palestinians, fighting between Lebanese and the Iraqi-Iranian war, while the Arab world demonstrates its impotence vis-a-vis Israel. Dr Taleb Ibrahim emphasizes that Algeria is not standing idly by, however: Since June, the chief of state himself and three PLN officials have gone to Damascus. He notes that at the Fes summit conference in September 1982, the Arab countries had achieved a consensus: Since that time, the situation has deteriorated considerably. "We believe that we must solve inter-Arab differences before calling the Ryad summit conference (scheduled for the end of the year), but we are willing to go there as soon as it is called," the minister states.

#### Greater Maghreb

Concerning the war in the Gulf, he makes the following clarification: "Algeria is not involved in mediation; it is making efforts with both Baghdad and Tehran. Contrary to what has been said, these efforts have never ceased, but the real mediation will not begin until both parties ask for it. That is not yet the case."

The determination to build the Algeria of the year 2000, the awareness that such an objective requires cooperation with neighbors in a peaceful environment and the absurdity of the increasing impasses in the Near East are all reasons causing President Chadli to relaunch the process of building the "Greater

Maghreb, the stepping stone to Arab unity." In this spirit, he agreed to meet with King Hassan II on 6 February in order to aid in the settlement of the Saharan conflict.

During the meeting, the Moroccan sovereign reportedly said that he was not interested in the referendum because "it presumed a winner and a loser, which could leave scars between Algeria and Morocco." For his part, President Chadli reportedly proposed the establishment of a Saharan entity in a Maghrebian unit and the monarch is said to have asked for time to reflect. It is true that the Algerian proposal was vague enough to take in both the independent state desired by the POLISARIO Front as well as the autonomy suggested by the king when he said: "Leave me the stamp and the flag and all the rest is negotiable." This is what the Moroccan delegation (made up of Guedira, adviser to the king, Boucette, minister of foreign affairs, and Basri, minister of interior) proposed when it met in Algiers secretly for 3 hours with representatives of the POLISARIO Front, who rejected its suggestion.

"It is normal," the Algerians say, "for everyone to stand firm in the beginning. It is during the negotiations that things soften up and people start to make moves toward one another." They express their puzzlement over the Moroccan attitude. They claim that President Sekou Toure proposed, with Rabat's agreement, a compromise solution for the meeting of the committee to implement OAU resolutions in Addis Ababa. He suggested that the two delegations, Moroccan and Saharan, should meet in the presence of the seven members of the committee, rather than negotiate head to head. The refusal of the Moroccans upon their arrival in the Ethiopian capital reportedly came as an unpleasant surprise to President Mengistu. Rabat's evasiveness would for the most part explain the evolution of Senegal, "the most credible spokesman for the Moroccan positions," and the rapprochement between Dakar and Algiers, sanctioned by the recent visit of President Abdou Diouf.

Inversely, this rapprochement is made up for by the shift of Colonel Qadhafi, who, in reconciling with Morocco, reportedly caused the hardening line of Hassan II in the Saharan conflict. The Algerians, who cooperate closely with Tunisia, therefore deplore the fact that the Maghrebian process is blocked. "The dialogue with Rabat can continue," they say, "but the normalization begun will not continue as long as the resolution of the OAU summit conference on the Western Sahara is not applied in full."

In 1974-1975, the Algerian leaders wondered about whether it was time to diversify their suppliers of military equipment. Caught short by the Moroccan Green March and the outbreak of the Saharan conflict, they maintained the status quo: The Soviet Union, which had helped the FLN during the liberation struggle, remained the almost exclusive supplier of weapons. In addition, in order to defeat the *pax americana*, which they feared seeing set up in the Near East, Boumediene had drawn somewhat closer to Moscow in order to counterbalance Washington. President Chadli is definitely continuing political and economic cooperation with the USSR, but he is moving toward a greater diversification of the political dialogue.

The new factor is unquestionably the opening of the dialogue with the United States, which, paradoxically enough, stems from the very prolongation of the Saharan conflict. "We prefer to put out position before the Americans directly ourselves," the Algerians say, hinting that there is no reason to allow Rabat or Ryad to have an exclusive on tete-a-tetes with Washington. But it should also be noted that for the past year or so, Algeria has begun to order military equipment from the European countries. Naturally, the country is far from having changed camps, but these tendencies, however shaded they might be, are not without significance.

Invited by De Gaulle, Pompidou and Giscard d'Estaing in turn, Boumediene never did decide to make the trip to Paris. Nor did he go to other West European capitals, although the EEC is by far Algeria's leading commercial partner. President Chadli took the step, but a very subtle one. He began with an official visit to Belgium, followed by a working visit of a few hours at the Elysee. Moving into a new phase, on Monday he will be greeted in Paris, officially this time, and immediately thereafter in Rome.

#### Idea of "Trilogue"

For Algiers, this trip to France is a symbolic visit that should mark a reconciliation between the two peoples, despite differences between governments on certain points. "There are times in the life of nations when they must go beyond the weight of history and move toward global cooperation, driven by a grand design," Taleb Ibrahim told us. In continuing his trip, which has its "specificity" for obvious reasons, with a visit to Rome, President Chadli is making a concrete opening to Europe in order to add a political dimension to economic cooperation, unlike what has happened with Africa, where the intensification of commercial trade in recent years has followed political cooperation of long standing.

"Between the two giants, American and Soviet, Europe has its word to say. It can carry weight. If it had spoken out more strongly in behalf of the representativeness of the PLO and the need for a Palestinian state, the situation would have matured more rapidly and the Near East would perhaps not be in the situation it is," one Algerian official told us. The moves made by President Chadli toward the northern Mediterranean are aimed at promoting the relaunching of an idea to which Boumediene was very attached: that of the Euro-Arab-African "trilogue."

11.464

CSO: 4519/30

INFORMATION MINISTER DISCUSSES MEDIA ROLE, GOVERNMENT CONTROLS

London AL-MAJALLAH in Arabic No 193, 22-28 Oct 83 pp 19-22

[Interview with Safwat al-Sharif, minister of information, by 'Amr 'Abd-al-Sami'; date and place not specified]

[Text] Cairo--Who says what to whom, in what way and with what effect? These, simply, are the elements of any process of communication with the masses. But this view takes on other dimensions when the features and scope of the role within whose framework the communication takes place are defined, whether the role is political, economic or cultural.

In a world that has become, by virtue of communications equipment, an "electronic village," the special nature of the role of political information emerges at the internal and external levels. The political role of the Egyptian media has always clung to regional and international elements that have profound impact on the regional sphere whose center is Egypt. AL-MAJALLAH has interviewed Safwat al-Sharif, the Egyptian minister of information, and asked him about the features of the Egyptian information policy, about the press that Safwat al-Sharif himself once described as an "amazing press," about how the media will cover the forthcoming election campaign in Egypt and about the political dimensions of some shows currently on Egyptian television. Here is the interview:

[Question] We may agree that the role of the media is perhaps the same in any country. What varies and differs is the philosophy of the media. What, in your view, are the bases of the Egyptian media's philosophy?

[Answer] The Egyptian media's strategy has several features that include the achieving of information dominance in Egypt. Achieving the dominance is connected not just with extending the means of mass communication to all parts of the republic but also with a sociopolitical dimension, because in fact it achieves social justice for Egyptian citizens and the citizen's right to know, and know through him media. This is something that the human rights charter has underlined. Media coverage was focused for a long time on the valley and the delta. But Egyptian television now reaches the northeastern coast and has penetrated Israel to cover all of its territory. This is the right of Egyptians in the Sinai and of Arabs in the occupied territories. This transmission has also reached the Red Sea coast. In

fact, fortunately it has crossed the Red Sea to cover parts of the fraternal Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. It has also reached the northwestern coast. Egyptian transmissions reach al-Sallum and have crossed the borders to cover Benghazi in Libya. Let me tell you that these are the features of a sovereign Egyptian information policy and of the establishment of an international security belt similar to the national security belt. I say that it is a sovereign philosophy because achieving it means achieving a part of the concept of the citizen's belonging to his country. I was happy when I learned that the inhabitants of the New Valley and of the oases (in Egypt's western desert) decided to designate the day on which radio and television transmissions reached them as a national day for their governorate! All this represents in fact a transformation from the phase of information in a totalitarian society to that of information in a multiple democratic society. We cannot imagine a democratic system with undemocratic information. This is why censorship of the press has been lifted and why the press law has been promulgated. The state in no way intervenes in the work of the press. I defy any chief editor in Egypt to say that he receives instructions from the government or that any Egyptian official imposes his opinion on him.

[Question] If the official in charge of a newspaper receives instructions from nobody, then do the chief editors perform their roles as leaders of (national) press establishments, with all the obvious implications of this word? Moreover, why did you describe the press as the "amazing press?"

[Answer] I believe that the chief editors perform their role as leaders of (national) press establishments. Therefore, we find the pages of the Egyptian papers open to opinion and counter opinion. If we say people believe in and express principles of the 23 July revolution and 15 May and this social, economic and political battle, then it is perplexing to find in Egypt a faction that describes these people's praise for the accomplishments of the regime that represents them as "trumpeting" of the accomplishments, whereas the concept of patriotism dictates that the accomplishments of even those who disagree with me be praised. What is interesting is that Egypt's recent political life has undergone a kind of full opening up in the press. You find, for example, a reply by an opposition leader to the chief editor of AL-KFBAR published in a full page of AL-AKHBAR itself (the Egyptian minister of information is referring here to Hilmi Murad's reply to Musa Sabri). All this is great as long as it does not lead to a distortion of the features of what has happened in Egypt. In this manner, this opening up is tied to society's right, before the right of the press, to know, learn and understand. But if this opening up in the press leads to distortion, then it becomes linked with the concept of an "amazing press."

[Question] What is your evaluation of the three opposition papers from the standpoint of the political function of the press?

[Answer] A partisan press is a right to which the parties are entitled and which is guaranteed by Egyptian law. Every party has the right to publish its paper, to express its opinion and to introduce its program to the masses. In this respect, I believe that the partisan press shoulders first the duty of expressing the opinion of these parties and their programs. They must then

discuss objectively all that is experienced by Egypt because the natural order of things is to have a ruling party and opposition parties. It is not essential that the opposition take the form of assault and slander. What I am saying is also addressed to the ruling party's paper. What is required of the partisan press nowadays is to be objective and composed because we are in the phase of building Egyptian society after a long period of hardship. The press is supposed to create the social climate that serves the political climate. Let me say again that if the partisan papers, including the ruling party's paper for which I am responsible, swerve from this sound policy and course, they will cause a great hole in the ship of democracy because any mistake and any dishonest and untruthful report published in the partisan press leads a major part of the masses (the silent nonpartisan majority) to renounce the democratic multiple-party experience we are undergoing. I always say that all our parties [together] are not the political street. Rather, they operate in a political quarter. As for the silent majority of millions, we must all work together to gain its confidence and to induce it to participate politically. Even the National Party, which we boast is the million-member party, cannot claim that it represents the silent majority. But it is working to gain this majority's confidence.

#### Extension for Press Leaders

[Question] But I never feel that MAYU magazine is conducting a dialogue with the other parties or with the papers of the other parties.

[Answer] First, this is primarily the responsibility of the national press, which embraces the 23 July and 15 May line, as stated at the outset of the press authority law. The national press proceeds from this premise. MAYU reflects the program of the National Party, which adopts these objectives because we--the National Union, the Socialist Union, Egypt's Party and then the National Party--are the ones who have been carrying the experience through the editorial staff since the day of 23 July [1952].

[Question] What we mean is the management by this press of a dialogue with the other political forces similar to the television dialogues of 1976.

[Answer] The 23 July revolution no longer needs such dialogues because there are those who try to cast doubt on this revolution and its leaders. This is why we embrace its viewpoint, which does not mean defending the mistakes committed by individuals in the revolution. As for the other viewpoints, they are expressed on various press podiums, including the magazine UKTUBAR, for example. It is the right of every historian, thinker and party to advance a direction different from ours. But I don't throw this burden on the shoulders of MAYU, which carries numerous other burdens in reflecting the party's activities and philosophy.

[Question] Do you think that it is difficult for MAYU to reconcile its partisan or political task with the need to gain popularity?

[Answer] MAYU is the only partisan paper that rises to the level of the national papers in terms of circulation. It is not a partisan publication but a paper that balances partisanship with nationalism and politics with literature and art. We have been careful to enable MAYU to address the broad masses. This is where the bases of the papers's popularity lie.

[Question] Are you eager to also establish the idea of "opinion and counter opinion" in the dramatic productions presented by the media?

[Answer] Let me tell you something. There were some people in the media who were afraid to show certain films for strange reasons, including the justification that this or that film was politically denigrating. But I have rejected this logic because our information philosophy has nothing to hide from society. A free society builds free men and a shackled media build a society of slaves. This is why I couldn't understand why the film "The People at the Top," which criticizes the open-door economy, was not shown and why we have not shown this film on television. It is not important if we show even 100 films similar to "The People at the Top." This complex must be discarded.

[Question] Let us return to the press. In the next few months, some Egyptian press leaders (from AL-AHRAM, AL-AKHBAR, UKTUBAR and MENA) will reach the legal retirement age. Will the service of these leaders be extended beyond the retirement age?

[Answer] Egypt has laws and the laws are applied, without making a distinction between judge, journalist or this or that citizen. The new workers law, issued by the latest session of the People's Assembly, prohibits the extension of service, so that the youth will have their opportunity. However, I want to say that this does not prevent any writer from writing or expressing his opinion, exactly as in the case of Mustafa Amin, Ihsan 'Abd-al-Qaddus and Jalal al-Hamamisi.

[Question] What is your frank opinion of the idea of electing boards of directors and chief editors from within the press establishments?

[Question] This raises the question of ownership. The owner of the national papers is the Consultative Council. Therefore, it expresses its opinion on the names presented to it. If there is any objection, then the individual concerned can present his objection to the Council within a designated period. Generally, I am against the method of "leaps." I believe in gradual transformation, which takes into consideration all the balances and intricacies. Therefore, I see nothing wrong with the idea of establishing "controls" over the democratic transformation so that it does not take the form of sudden leaps, which constitute jumping into the unknown.

#### Media and Forthcoming Elections

[Question] During election campaigns, the democratic countries define a means or a system for operation of the information media in the election campaigns. Do you have a view as to how the Egyptian television will tackle the forthcoming election campaign?

[Answer] We return to the law once more. The Radio and Television Union law, which is a recent law issued under the canopy of the multiplicity of parties, stipulates that the parties be given the opportunity to explain their programs during the election period. We will hold a meeting that will include representatives of the various parties, and we will agree at this meeting on how to use the information media for the purpose of explaining the parties' election programs.

[Question] Will a time be set for each party to appear on television?

[Answer] There is an experiment in Germany and another one by the BBC in which a parliamentary committee determines the number of minutes allocated for each party. Let us say, for example, that a big party will take 30 minutes, another party 15 minutes and so forth, depending on each party's parliamentary seats. But because there are some parties in Egypt that are not represented in the parliament and because other parties have been founded recently or will emerge between now and the elections, we must also agree on their appearance on television. I do not believe this is difficult.

[Question] How will an agreement be reached, through personal contacts between you and the chairmen of the parties, for example, or through a parliamentary committee?

[Answer] I believe that we will emulate the German or British experiment and will thus hold some sort of a meeting at the People's Assembly to discuss ways to implement the law providing for all the parties to be given the opportunity to explain their programs. The form of the committee is not important. What is important is to begin.

[Question] I want a final confirmation: Are you going to allow the same opportunity to the parties that have no seats in the parliament?

[Answer] I believe that it is necessary to give them the opportunity to express their programs objectively. As a democratic national party, we are happy to do this so that the citizen will know where we stand and what our programs are and so that he can hear other proposals and programs.

Why Do You Confiscate Papers and Magazines?

[Question] As long as we are talking about democracy, it is interesting to hear from time to time that a certain edition of an Arab or foreign newspaper has not reached the readers because it was confiscated. Do you think that the concept of censorship over the Arab and foreign publications can be reconciled with the Egyptian experience?

[Answer] Censorship over foreign publications is not something done by Egypt exclusively. It happens all over the world and very stringently in the Arab world. As for Egypt, I can say that we have a large degree of openness in this regard. However, there are materials that undermine the values and society, and I cannot permit them. There are also materials that do not deal with our policy objectively, and I cannot permit them. There are publications

resort to strange practices, such as including an objective political article on Egypt and then proceeding to include in the same edition another article that clashes with our values and principles. So how can we permit them?

[Question] Al-Jizah Intelligence Service in Egypt has announced that a large number of drug merchants has turned to the cassette trade. Do you think that the flood of cassette tapes inundating Egypt poses a threat to the radio?

[Answer] To start with, the cassette is no match for radio or television. We have seven radio networks, including the Middle East Radio, the European Program, the Second Program, the Voice of the Arabs, the General Program and the Local News Radio. The volume of the Egyptian media establishment is too big to be rivaled by cassettes. As for the low standard [al-habitah] of the material in these cassettes, the Ministry of Culture's Agency for Art Works Censorship is the authority with control over such material.

[Question] If this responsibility falls on the shoulders of the Ministry of Culture, then who is responsible for the emergence of political cassette tapes in Egypt?

[Answer] Political cassettes existed before and were embodied in some mosque sermons containing political views. All this is normal in a free and democratic country. It is easy to wipe out these manifestations and to control them with harsh discipline. But rest assured that the more freedom and democracy a society enjoys, the more widespread become such manifestations that by their nature disappear and reappear. This is the price of democracy. Patience is required in tackling these manifestations. Supremacy of the law, which protects society from these manifestations, is also required in dealing with them.

[Question] An uproar has developed over the series "Its Majesty, Love" and this has motivated some people to examine the relationship between dramatic works and Egypt's history. What is your view on this issue?

[Answer] "Its Majesty, Love" is not a historical series. If it chronicled the history of the 23 July revolution, it would be a different matter. But it reflects patterns that accompanied the inception of the revolution and sheds light on the structure of Egyptian society. But if a dramatic work contains falsification of a certain historical event, then we stand against such a work because it creates confusion in the public mind. I believe that the problem with this series is that it focuses more on obscene scenes than on the national aspect. This is what has made matters seem unbalanced to the viewer.

[Question] Is this what prompted you to form a committee of prominent historians to study this kind of dramatic work before they are shown?

[Answer] Naturally, we refer to the specialists insofar as any series is concerned. If the series contains religious aspects, it is presented to al-Azhar. If it contains historical aspects, it is presented to history

professors so that things will not be left to subjective interpretation. I would also like to point out that the series "Its Majesty, Love" has not dealt with certain individuals, as some people have interpreted it. Rather, it is a review of general patterns.

[Question] There is a final issue pertaining to the gigantic information apparatus owned by Egypt. Don't you think that many of the political and technical studies that activate this apparatus can be finalized with the establishment of a center for measuring public opinion?

[Answer] The nucleus for such a center is already present in the Information College, the Criminal Research Center and the Information Authority. These three agencies represent a scientific working team that can take a step on the path of setting up an advanced center for measuring public opinion.

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CSO: 4504/47

INFORMATION MINISTER SEEKS TO PRESENT REGIME IN FAVORABLE LIGHT

London AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT in Arabic 9 Oct 83 p 3

[Interview with Information Minister Muhammad Khawjali Salihin by 'Abdallah al-Hajj: "The Sudanese Minister of Information to AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT: This Is the Truth about the Economic and Security Conditions in the Sudan"; date not specified]

[Text] Economic conditions in the Sudan, which is suffering from difficulties, were the focal point of AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT's meeting with the Sudanese minister of information, Muhammad Khawjali Salihin, who described many points bearing on the bad situation facing the Sudanese economy.

The Sudanese minister also revealed some problems the Sudan is suffering from in the security context because of its extensive borders, which expose it to the greed of many people who manipulate the interests of peoples.

The discussion also addressed itself to Sudanese-Egyptian-American relations and the nature of these relations, in the overall and bilateral frameworks.

[Question] The Sudanese government has not yet been able to overcome the economic crisis. What are the direct causes of this slowness in solving the Sudan's crisis?

[Answer] The economic crisis is an international one, and it is not the Sudan that is suffering from it alone, to the exclusion of others. The government is working earnestly to get out of the temporary bottlenecks the country is going through, and development plans and massive projects are now being carried out. Some of these have been completed while others are on the verge of being completed.

We have now managed to reap the fruits of what we have planted. Numerous factories have been producing and numerous roads have been completed, so that communications have been facilitated and the shipment of supply materials to all regions has started to flow smoothly, now that these roads have been built. Let us not forget that the citizens' economic circumstances have improved greatly, and this has led citizens to turn toward luxury spending. We in the media are now intending to present programs which will urge citizens to guide consumption.

In addition, there are large numbers of refugees in the Sudan who share bread with us, on top of the international inflation, as far as imported goods go, and the smuggling of many commodities produced locally and imported to neighboring countries that are suffering from famine and drought.

All this, combined, accounts for some tightness, but the economic foundation in the Sudan is sound. We have agricultural products and other consumer goods, such as sugar, oil, soap, and textiles, which are produced locally, and new measures have also been taken regarding the reduction of the prices of some of these commodities, such as textiles.

Therefore I do not believe that there are economic difficulties, as it may appear to some people.

#### Competent Economic Personnel

[Question] We believe that there are competent economic personnel in your country; has your government sought their assistance?

[Answer] Obviously. Economics, today, has its principles, laws and specialists. The first economic conference was held at the end of last year on this basis, and the second conference will be held this year. The recommendations which economists presented have been adopted, many economic views were presented in the papers and the various media, and the government will adopt those.

I personally feel that there will be a letup in economic problems very soon.

[Question] Statements have been made to the effect that Egyptian-Sudanese cooperation will not help solve the two countries' economic crisis. Otherwise, each country would be relying on its own efforts and competent personnel. What is your view?

[Answer] We believe that cooperation between the two parties is very important, in economic terms and in the other areas. We, as you know, have strong relations with the Arab Republic of Egypt economically, commercially, culturally and ethnically. The bonds of blood and kinship are old, and trade between the two fraternal countries flows smoothly. Egyptian and Sudanese goods have now been exempted from customs duties between the two countries, and this has led to a drop in their prices. Egyptian goods are available in Sudanese markets, and Sudanese products are available in Egyptian markets.

Any cooperation will of necessity serve the two parties jointly.

#### What After the Maneuvers?

[Question] After the recent American-Sudanese-Egyptian maneuvers, some people said that the Sudan has become an American military base, then an Egyptian one. What is the truth about this military cooperation?

[Answer] This view is to be rejected. These are rumors which biased persons are spreading around.

There are no American bases in the Sudan. There is no Egyptian army in the Sudan. Indeed, there is not a single Egyptian soldier in the Sudan. All that exists is a mutual defense agreement between the two countries, which is well known. It has been declared and its sections have been published. If one of the two countries faces aggression, of course the other country will carry out the sections of the agreement.

This is not an innovation, and it is not the first mutual defense agreement between two countries. To the contrary, there are many joint defense agreements between many countries. Perhaps it is natural that there should be a mutual defense agreement between the Sudan and Egypt, two fraternal neighbors which are joined by eternal relations, since there are mutual defense agreements between small developing countries and large countries which are not linked by any strong bonds.

This is biased propaganda voiced by vindictive persons who have no reserve of political credit.

Even if there was no mutual defense agreement, history will attest that the Sudan has helped deter every aggression against Egypt. We took part alongside Egypt in the battles of 1956, 1967, and 1973. Sudanese blood intermingled with Egyptian blood. That in our opinion is normal.

As far as Sudanese-American relations go, they are like America's relations with any other country, no more and no less.

#### The Sudan's Security

[Question] Security in the Sudan faces a sensitive situation along the borders with Chad, Libya and Ethiopia. How are your relations with the three countries?

[Answer] First of all, there are Soviet designs and desperate attempts are being made to destabilize domestic security in the Sudan by a major power, the Soviet Union.

As for Chad, our relations with the legitimate existing regime under the leadership of President Hisssein Habre are solid.

The Northern Region of the Sudan is totally secure, and no regime has succeeded in creating any disturbances. The Sudanese people reject these conspiracies, and Communist atheism and the Soviet system are rejected.

When they failed to have any effect on the Northern Region, they turned to some of the southern regions, because the borders are vast; it is difficult to control them there.

Last April an attack was made on the railway station. The armed forces of the Southern Region settled this matter, under the leadership of southern officers; the people from the north did not intervene at all.

Now, officers from the three southern regions themselves are confronting some pockets outside of the law in these regions; these pockets are a small band which will have no effect on stability and progress in the three southern regions. What is happening is of limited importance. Some arms, trainers and explosives were seized in an Arab country, and they confessed to their conspiracy a while ago.

The Sudan is committed to the United Nations Charter and international and African charters. It respects international custom and does not interfere in the affairs of others. At the same time, it does not want anyone to interfere in its own affairs.

I can stress that the Sudan is a Moslem people who reject Communism and are not content to let it interfere in their internal affairs.

#### Eritrea and the Sudan

[Question] Observers have noticed that there has been an estrangement between the Sudan and Eritrea and that most of the Eritrean liberation front offices have been closed. How are the Eritreans in the Sudan getting along?

[Answer] That statement is not correct. Anyone visiting Khartoum will find Eritreans living with Sudanese in peace and security and sharing bread with them in good spirits, and our Eritrean brothers are working most freely in the Sudan.

[Question] It appears that the Sudan's previous contributions to the restoration of Arab-African solidarity have been faltering; if not, what has become of your efforts in this area? Have you despaired of restoring such solidarity?

[Answer] The Sudan is one of the countries that are concerned with Arab-African solidarity, and it has made numerous initiatives in this area. The headquarters of the Arab Bank for Economic Development in Africa are in Khartoum, and many organizations which take part in supporting this solidarity have headquarters in Khartoum, in addition to the Institute of the Arabic Language Institute and the Islamic and African Center, which contains large numbers of African brethren.

The Sudan wants and emphatically supports Arab-African solidarity and on every regional Arab and African occasion claims that it is necessary to support this solidarity, because Arab-African problems and issues are similar ones, and the Sudan continues to call for Arab-African solidarity and is the best model of it. Therefore, we are coexisting peacefully, Africans with Arabs.

#### Our Regime Relies on the People

[Question] Now that 14 years of President Ja'far al-Numayri's regime have elapsed, what elements have given it the opportunity to endure for such a long period?

[Answer] Our regime relies basically on the people. From the moment President Numeiri said that he would hand power in full over to the people, we have been proceeding in this direction. The decree on local popular government was issued and all powers were handed over to the people in the lower, leadership and intermediate assemblies. Then the law was issued dividing up the departments to reduce administrative coverage, and after that regional government made its appearance. Every region has rulers, a council of ministers, a people's assembly, provinces and governors. New local leaders have appeared who have been given full powers and are working earnestly to direct local development with good results. This has all led to the presence of a strong Sudan which is different from the past in everything.

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CSO: 4504/50

RELIGIOUS ENDOWMENTS MINISTER DISCUSSES EFFECTS OF NEW ISLAMIC LEGISLATION

London AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT in Arabic 8 Oct 83 p 3

[Interview with Dr Yusuf al-Khalifah Abu Bakr, Minister of the Higher Council for Religious Affairs and Endowments in the Sudan: "The Application of a New Strategy Following the Issuance of Islamic Legislation"; date not specified]

[Text] In the course of the issuance of Islamic laws and legislation in the Sudan, Dr Yusuf al-Khalifah Abu Bakr was appointed chairman of the Higher Council of Religious Affairs and Endowments. On this occasion, AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT met with Dr Yusuf al-Khalifah Abu Bakr to shed light on the strategy he will follow, the goals he is aiming at and the programs he is preparing to enable the Higher Council of Religious Affairs and Endowments to proceed to bear the great burdens that have been assigned to it in the service of Islam and the Moslems in this country and the Islamic countries in Africa, and also to clarify cooperative relations in the area of the call to religion and religious guidance between the council, and Islamic and Arab organizations and institutions, in order deeply to implant the historic role which has befallen the council and Islamic and Arab organizations and institutions.

At the beginning of the conversation on the execution of President Numayri's decrees regarding the application of Islamic law in the Sudan, Dr Yusuf said:

"The council has prepared a comprehensive plan and integrated programs for clarifying the points related to this matter, and we are devoting great attention to this matter, not because Islam is new or the understanding of it is unfamiliar, but because the execution of Islamic law and God's penalties are considered two new things in people's actual circumstances. For a long time, since the colonial eras, the provisions were secular, their origins derived from English and Indian law. The people suffered greatly from these unjust laws, which came in the form of intellectual colonialism, since young girls could emerge from obedience to their fathers. This law protects them, and indeed takes a commitment from their fathers that they will not suffer harm, and indeed that they will be responsible if anything repugnant happens to them.

"Great glorious God 's laws are now spreading peace and confidence about the country. People, from this day on, with the application of God's law, will be secure about their honor, their money and their own selves. However, we must also confront the suspicions that are raised from time to time on the part of some people who are not content with God's provisions, by explaining the provisions of Islamic law and its penalties, and the manner of applying them as God ordered. We must also define and explain that the execution of the provisions of Islamic law means that we have extirpated all negative, anti-religious phenomena and that there is no chance of regression."

#### Social and Economic Development

Dr Yusuf al-Khalifah said, "I believe that Islamic legislation will have its obvious effect on social and economic life, because it is in keeping with Sudanese values and traditions themselves and is in no way alien to the society. For example, there is the tithe fund and there is a committee on which a law was issued which has exercised its activity and its powers and is now proceeding successfully. People at the beginning believed that the government codified the law on the tithe fund to take this money but, when they saw that this fund gathered and spent the tithe, without interference from the government, on various forms of philanthropy and on the people who needed it, without intervention from the government, the committee, which contains broad segments of merchants, intellectuals and citizens of various stripes, began slowly to expand, and people deal with it on grounds that it is a popular, patriotic committee which reviews the cases available and offers them the tithe. We are intending to promote the process of attaining social development and eliminating suffering, and the tithe is a well known right of beggars and deprived persons."

#### Enlightening the Conscience of the Individual

Dr Yusuf continued his conversation by stating, "In the year of the famine, in the era of our lord 'Umar, may God be satisfied with him, the Islamic punishment for theft was suspended, on grounds that the question was not one of laws and provisions but the process of conscience and the enlightenment of the conscience of the Moslem individual, so that it would be deterrent in the internal sense, and not externally, where people would show concern only for the terrorism of the law. Yes, the law is on their side, because it strengthens religious compunctions, but, if it conflicts with the compunctions, the latter grow weaker. The presence of the two together is of the utmost importance, since that creates confidence, and the issuance of Islamic law helps the process of regulating the tithe and expands its base, and the avenues for spending it on the people who are entitled to it. Islam's requirement of the government is that it meet man's basic needs. Islam for example guarantees to make provision for people who are unable to marry, for instance, that is, by providing dignified work for them to help them form a happy family, on grounds that the family is the nucleus of the society in Islam. The government must provide people who need clothes with clothes, or with work opportunities. There are many examples, and this brief meeting cannot enumerate them."

## A Program for Imams and Givers of Sermons

[Question] Is it possible for imams and personnel working in the area of the propagation of the call to religion to bear the burdens of this stage by themselves?

[Answer] We in the higher council have prepared a program for imams, givers of sermons, religious guides and indoctrinators. The program includes the issuance of weekly publications which are sent to the imams. In addition, we will seek the help of newspapers in including explanations of the verses of the Koran, the provisions, the Islamic penalties and the traditions of the prophet, and a simplified explanation of the laws, so that it will be feasible for them to formulate them in their own manner and offer them to people in accordance with the environment in which they live. The strategy also involves groups of leaders, intellectuals and students, the classes of women and workers, and all the sectors of the society. We will use modern media for indoctrination, such as cassette tapes, radio and television, in order to intensify the indoctrination and guidance. On top of that, we will hold workshops and conferences for imams concerning the guidance of Friday sermons and the use of assemblies on that day to solve problems and reply to requests for information.

## The Council's Strategy

In response to a question on the council's role regarding pagan and backward areas, Dr Yusuf pointed out, "There are some shortcomings in this area. Some proselytizing bodies and Sufic orders are playing an indirect role in spreading Islam among these citizens. As far as we are concerned, we in Religious Affairs and Endowments, in cooperation with the Authority for the Revival of Islamic Activity, have concentrated on organizing and developing the role of the retreats that are located in these areas, especially with respect to the al-Funj Mountain, al-Nubah Mountain and southern region areas. We consider that it is no longer necessary that the role of the retreats be restricted to teaching memorization of the Koran only; indeed, it is now becoming necessary that these retreats implant religious faith and values and that religious jurists have a prominent role in social and economic development. Therefore, we have prepared training courses for religious jurists in these areas."

## The Role of Arab and Islamic Organizations

Dr Yusuf said,

"Relations between us and Arab and Islamic organizations and institutions are marked by cooperation. There is material and moral support from these organizations. The Religious Affairs [Council] was established as a department in 1956. Since that date, numerous relationships have been established with Islamic organizations in the Arab world, be they governmental or private, and the council has firm bonds with universities in Saudi Arabia, the Islamic World League, the International Islamic Youth Symposium, the Department of Research and Juridical Rulings in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, and ministries and religious endowments in the Arab countries and some

Islamic ones. We receive much aid and assistance from them, for which we are grateful.

"The Islamic World League recently donated 1.5 million copies of the Koran, and donated the printing of copies of the Koran along with the narrative of al-Dawri. A quantity of mosque rugs has been sent to us, and His Eminence Shaykh 'Abd-al-'Aziz ibn Baz, the chairman of the departments of research and juridical rulings in Saudi Arabia, has expressed the kingdom's readiness to help the Sudan carry out the Islamic laws. In addition, Dr 'Abd-al-Latif al-Nasif, secretary general of the Islamic World League, has expressed a readiness to cooperate by providing the Sudan with scholars who are famous throughout the world so that they can talk about enlightenment and indoctrination programs, and there is coordination with the Kuwaiti Ministry of Religious Endowments and the Islamic Philanthropic League in Kuwait, and with many Islamic countries."

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CSO: 4504/50

EGYPTIAN OPPOSITION PAPER QUESTIONS LATEST RELIGIOUS CONCESSIONS, REFORMS

Cairo AL-AHALI in Arabic 26 Oct 83 p 2

[Article by 'Ayidah al-'Izab Musa: "Mubarak's Sudden Visit to the Sudan -- Support for a Fraternal People or for a Regime Whose Problems Are Piling up?"]

[Text] The fleeting visit President Husni Mubarak made to the Sudan, which took a number of hours, raised much uproar and argument. It prompted the Egyptian foreign minister, Kamal Hasan 'Ali, to state that the visit "was not a fleeting one -- rather, it was the timing that was the sudden element." He added, "It is normal that one should be well versed and informed of all the movements in the two countries; therefore it should not be surprising if the two presidents consult between themselves from time to time over issues of peace, the Middle East and the issues of integration, which are proceeding at an urgent pace." This statement was meant to rein in the horse.

In spite of the statements repeated by the media, the material published on the front pages of newspapers under prominent headlines, and the announcements of news bulletins, the citizens of the Nile Valley do not have real knowledge of what is going on in the corridors of the presidents' offices. Nothing that is being published goes beyond the scope of general statements or is more than factual information.

For example, in spite of the great media attention to the news about integration in the two countries, neither the Egyptian nor the Sudanese citizens know the truth about what has been achieved or taken place. All the Sudanese citizen senses is that this integration came about to support President Numayri, while the Egyptian citizen views it within the framework of his everyday sufferings, while consciously realizing that integration is the historic hope of the two peoples.

The Arrest of Al-Sadiq Al-Mahdi For Having Reservations on the Application of Islamic Law

If we assume, for the sake of argument, that this visit took place in the context of the ongoing consultations between the two presidents, the timing

militated against its success. Perhaps it was this timing which caused the uproar and gossip. The visit occurred in the wake of al-Numayri's arrests of his political opponents, the most recent of which occurred last week, when the leader of the al-Ansar, Sadiq al-Mahdi, the former prime minister, and a number of his aides were arrested. The arrest of the pious Islamic leader Sadiq al-Mahdi came after he had delivered a speech before his followers on the island of Aba, which is considered the main center of his religious movement, criticizing al-Numayri's regime, accusing it of political bankruptcy, and attacking the limited application of Islamic law, saying "That cannot take place before the Sudanese people have realized their economic freedom. Its application is not appropriate at a time when the country is suffering from bankruptcy and schisms. If an individual's family is writhing with hunger and he steals in order to feed them, we cannot at that point hand down the verdict that his hand be cut off."

The news of the arrest of Sadiq al-Mahdi, the chairman of the al-Ansar group and the leader of the national Party, created bad repercussions. The Islamic Council issued a statement saying that it was grievously shocked by the arrest of Sadiq al-Mahdi, who is the object of respect and appreciation all over the Islamic world. The statement added that the arrests were a violation of human rights, and it called for consolidated efforts to guarantee the release of everyone who had been arrested.

#### Sadiq Al-Mahdi and the Arrest of the Judges

It appears that President Numayri had been lying in wait for Sadiq al-Mahdi, and used the incident of his delivery of the speech to justify arresting him. Numayri had not forgotten his position on the massacre of the judiciary and his displeasure and disdain over it. Last June, in a fit of anger that overwhelmed him during the celebration of the opening of the regional court of appeals, President Numayri attacked the judges, described them as "corrupt," "heedless" and "drunkards," and threatened to set them straight. The very next day, he dismissed 40 judges, all prominent union heads. The rest of their colleagues expressed solidarity with them and presented their resignations in successive waves.

This event stung the opinion of the silent public in the Sudan; while most professional groups, those of the lawyers, teachers and students, declared their strong condemnation of it, the government press observed total silence.

Sadiq al-Mahdi remarked that no accounts between the judges and al-Numayri had to be settled except for their discomfort over the pressures the authorities were exerting on them. By this measure, al-Numayri sought to extend his dominance over one of the few bodies which have avoided his dominance to now. Al-Mahdi added that the tyrannical methods the president was pursuing had shut the door to any possibility of holding a reasonable dialogue with the regime.

#### Is This the Way Islamic Law Is Enforced?

Last 16 September, the president declared that he was imposing Islamic law. In a theatrical gesture, he led a parade to the Nile, in which he emptied

out a bottle of beer, declaring the start of the commitment to Islamic law. He issued orders that alcoholic beverages and spirits valued at \$3 million be poured into the Nile, and it was said that al-Numayri had made the people of the whole Nile Valley drunk!

At the same time he made that declaration, the president released 13,000 criminals and issued a statement in which he said that he had pardoned the prisoners of the Sudan in order to turn a new leaf of justice on the basis of Islamic law.

The connection between the pardon of criminals and the enforcement of Islamic law has not been understood. Does Islam, for example, condone the commission of crimes? Or does Islam just pardon felonies and not forgive political crimes? If this measure was aimed at turning a new leaf, as he said, why did the president arrest his political opponents and the Islamic leaders at the same time? Is it Islamic that criminals should enjoy their freedom in the Sudan while al-Numayri's critics and competitors are arrested?

The sudden declaration of the enforcement of Islamic law caused an echo all over the Sudan, especially in the south, where the majority are Christians and pagans and where rebellious movements are on the rise; that prompted al-Numayri to correct the situation and make a speech on television declaring that the rights of the non-Moslems in the country would be preserved and that the non-Moslems would be blessed with peace, protection and mercy (40 percent of the population of the Sudan, which numbers 20 million, is non-Moslem).

#### Why the Sudden Decree To Apply It?

There have been many explanations for al-Numayri's motives in declaring the application of Islamic law as suddenly as he did, while he realized full well that he could not impose this commitment on the south and that the policy of decentralization which he had been pursuing for 3 years had ridden the Khartoum government of any presence there, except in the case of the police, which was connected to the security of al-Numayri's regime. In addition, al-Numayri, during the years of his regime, manifested no concern to apply Islamic law or call for it, and here is where the surprise lay.

Some people interpreted this as an attempt on al-Numayri's part to satisfy Saudi Arabia and the emirates, since he is in the greatest need of their oil and their money, especially since the oil reserve which the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia provided to the Sudan at the beginning of this year has almost been depleted.

In the domestic context, it was to placate the Moslem Brothers, the only group which is supporting al-Numayri's regime. The Brothers' leadership declares that it is cooperating with al-Numayri in the desire to reform the regime from within, and it objects to any attempt at destabilization which could spread about chaos and disruption in the Sudan. For this reason, the Brothers protect the regime whenever it is faced with danger, and they are certain of their strength and of the fact that nothing can happen in that

country without the Moslem Brothers. Al-Numayri depends on this, and therefore they are safe from his wrath. In fact, it is to placate them that al-Numayri turned against the Society of Republican Brothers, which many people consider does not follow the proper teachings of the Islamic religion, but had supported al-Numayri in all his crises. In August, the leader of the faction of the Republican Brothers, Mahmud Taha, 37 of its prominent leaders, and a large number of its members, who were concentrated in the Central and Eastern Regions of the Sudan, were arrested, although this faction supported al-Numayri in all his steps, resists Communism, supports the Camp David agreement and calls for the establishment of relations with Israel.

It is said that the main reason for his campaign against them was that they published and distributed a book issued by the Brothers, "Religious Chaos," in which they attacked the Society of Moslem Brothers and accused it of calling for the separation of the north from the south, attempting to incite the various religious groups against one another, and calling for the imposition of prohibitions on others.

#### Is the Guide of the Brothers Being Promoted or Removed?

The Moslem Brothers enjoy a privileged status with the regime in the Sudan. Al-Numayri's declaration on the application of Islamic law was accompanied by his appointment of Dr Hasan al-Turabi, the general guide of the Society of the Brothers, who has also occupied the position of public prosecutor for judiciary affairs, as one of his advisors.

The strange aspect of the matter is that Dr al-Turabi has frequently criticized al-Numayri's conduct. It is well known that al-Numayri cannot endure criticism, or even advice, and that the fate of all his advisors and the people around him who have had an effect in political life has been merciless dismissal from power, exile, or promotion to honorary positions. For this reason, the last 14 years of al-Numayri's regime have witnessed numerous changes in vice presidential positions. Some people interpret the promotion of Dr Hasan al-Turabi to advisor to the president as a dismissal from his previous important position, from which he supervised all the legal and judiciary agencies in the Sudan, to a pro forma position which does not constitute a threat. President Numayri does not forget the statements Dr al-Turabi made last year to the foreign press, in which he attacked the negative aspects of the regime, stressing that the president had weakened all the institutions of the Sudan, that the Socialist Union party, the only party, had no existence except in form, that there was no longer any freedom in the country, and that a profound gap separated the government and the people. Al-Turabi made a sarcastic, derisive statement against the president's advisors at the press conference, when he said "The president's advisors receive more advice than they give."

It appears that al-Turabi's statements against his regime stymied al-Numayri and that he sought to get rid of him by effecting this promotion, which isolated him from his former influential status. Since al-Numayri was accustomed to describing people as being critical of him, it was natural that he should resort to conferring a different style on the leader of a popular organization.

It is well known that the Brothers' leaders support for Numayri's regime met with strong opposition from the rank and file of the Brothers, which was hostile to al-Numayri's regime and criticized the policy of placating it and cooperating with it. Therefore, some people consider that through his latest appeal for the application of Islamic law, Numayri sought to take the Islamic slogans away from the Brothers and compete with them over them, as al-Sadat did when he amended the constitution so that Islamic law would become the basic source of legislation, at a time when his conflict with the religious current in Egypt began.

#### Numayri Does Not Trust the Military Men

The army was not spared al-Numayri's severe measures either. Three weeks ago, 12 senior officers were arrested on the suspicion of planning to make a coup against the regime.

Al-Numayri's relations with the leaders of the army turned bad in January 1982, in the wake of the dismissal of Maj Gen 'Abd-al-Majid Khalil, the commander general of the army, and 22 senior officers. Maj Gen Khalil had held two major positions alongside his military one, those of vice president and secretary general of the Sudanese Socialist party. One of the reasons for his removal was that he had refused to fire on students who had been demonstrating in protest against the increased prices the International Monetary Fund had imposed. He and his comrades, in Socialist Union meetings, had severely protested against the corruption in circles that were closely linked to the presidential palace and the tyrannical system which was being imposed in the country. It is said that the "Khalil group" had thought of compelling al-Numayri to set things right during a session the party held in January 1982. Since that time, the president of the Sudan has not trusted the military men.

However, Numayri is not using just the weapon of terror to put the military people in line. He also uses the method of enticements to placate them. In the past few months he has showered promotions on them whose likes the Sudanese army has not witnessed before. He has also allowed them to work in economic areas, by assigning them the chairmanships of cooperative societies which the government owns in various fields such as public transportation, housing, works, bakeries and even banking investments. Through this technique of corrupting military life, he has temporarily guaranteed the loyalty of some officers in the army.

President Numayri is no longer concerned with the strength of his army or its fitness or solidity. He depends on summoning the Egyptian army as soon as any danger to the security of the Sudan manifests itself. He can also receive support from the United States, which is considering a major strategic position in the Sudan, between Libya and Ethiopia, two countries which the Soviet Union is supporting.

#### The Chad Issue Is Becoming Aggravated

One other reason remains, and that is perhaps one of the reasons why President Mubarak went to the Sudan. This is that the Franco-African conference

which was held in the town of Vitelle in France last week failed to solve the problem of Chad and turned the whole issue over to the Organization of African Unity, with the suggestion that negotiations be held among the conflicting parties, after the position of Hissein Habre, whom the Sudanese regime is supporting with all its weight, was threatened. There is no doubt that the Egyptian and Sudanese presidents dealt with measures for repelling the danger on the Sudanese borders should Hissein Habre fall.

In the light of these circumstances, President Mubarak's visit to the Sudan should be viewed as support for al-Numayri, support for the Sudan and protection of its security. It is not this that is being criticized, but having this support occur at the expense of the fraternal people of the Sudan. it is the peoples who endure, not regimes.

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CSO: 4504/50

## AL-'ADSANI DISCUSSES U.S. ROLE IN LEBANON

LD211059 Kuwait KUNA in Arabic 0825 GMT 21 Nov 83

[Excerpts] Kuwait, 21 Nov (KUNA)--In an interview published here today, the speaker of the Kuwaiti National Assembly, Muhammad Yusuf al-'Adsani, said that the situation in Lebanon differs from others regarding social and political composition. He considers unlikely the question of Lebanon's complete partition, but he did not exclude the likelihood of dismembering parts of Lebanon in the north and south.

Mr 'Adsani said in an interview with the Kuwaiti AL-QABAS that "The Lebanese are capable of overcoming severe trials," considering the Lebanese national dialogue committee's decision to entrust President al-Jumayyil with holding contacts with Arab and friendly countries to bring pressure on Israel as a means to "extract" the approval of some Arab countries of the Lebanese-Israeli agreement concluded last year. He added that the American presence in Lebanon will be the beginning of their permanent presence in the Middle East, pointing out that the presence of Americans under the umbrella of the multinational force to preserve peace "has proved the contrary."

Concerning recent developments in the Palestinian arena, the speaker of the Kuwaiti National Assembly expressed sorrow and regret vis-a-vis "the fighting raging between the comrades of yesterday," pointing out that PLO Chairman Yasir 'Arafat now has two options, namely departure or martyrdom. Or he might make the decision to fight in his positions until martyrdom.

Concerning the Arab situation in general Mr 'Adsani expressed regret over the deteriorating situation and described it as "very grave," particularly because it prevails at a critical stage. He pointed out that the Arab nation is presently facing numerous challenges from various directions.

He pointed out that the present situation "is fraught with preparations and developments under an acute tension, with alarming indications of serious dangers concerning the fate of the Arab people."

He explained that the amassing of military fleets in the Mediterranean "opposite the Lebanese shore close to the centers of explosion and the confrontation line with the Soviets and the Syrians" will aggravate the situation.

"Syria," he said, "might be within the belt [nitaq] of the proposed solutions and settlements in the Middle East, and her present stands are directly linked with her interests in Lebanon."

Mr 'Adsani expressed belief that the Soviets are aware of that, and they are seeking it "to escalate the situation between Syria and America by providing the Syrian Army with modern weapons."

Mr 'Adsani blamed France for the aircraft raid of some Lebanese areas, pointing out that this operation "is at odds with the declared stand of France vis-a-vis the American policy in Lebanon."

This matter, he said, will be discussed with the French National Assembly delegation currently visiting the country. The delegation includes representatives from various French constituencies represented at the National Assembly.

Mr 'Adsani warned against what is happening in Lebanon, pointing out that it is linked with what is happening in the Gulf "and not vice versa."

Therefore, he added, it is not possible to separate what is happening in Lebanon from what is happening in the Gulf area.

Mr 'Adsani said all these important questions will be discussed with British officials when he visits Britain in response to an invitation from the British House of Commons. He pointed out that the British stand vis-a-vis Arab issues "blemished with question marks" will be discussed during this visit.

CSO: 4400/69

## BRIEFS

LONDON DISCOUNT HOUSE SHARES PURCHASED--The Kuwait Investment Office, a part of the Kuwaiti Finance Ministry, has purchased a further 50,000 shares in the London discount house Gerrard and National. The acquisition raised Kuwaiti holdings in the company to 7.1 per cent of total shares outstanding at an overall value of £4.4 million (\$6.6 million) for 2.125 million shares. It was only one month ago that the Kuwait Investment Office disclosed that it had bought 230,000 shares in Gerrard and National which is one of 12 discount houses in London dealing in British treasury bills and bills of exchange, as well as in the London money market. That transaction took KIO across the 5 per cent threshold that requires ownership to be made public under British securities law. It is not known whether Kuwait is interested in further purchases of Gerrard and National shares. Kuwait is by far the most active of the oil-rich Arab Gulf states in placing its surplus funds in a wide range of investments in Europe and elsewhere. [Text] [Paris AN-NAHAR ARAB REPORT & MEMO in English No 45, 7 Nov 83 p 9]

HAWK FIGHTER PLANES--Kuwait is to purchase 12 British Hawk fighter planes adapted for ground attack as well as their normal advanced training and air defence role. The planes are manufactured by British Aerospace and will be delivered to Kuwait in 18 months to two years' time. The deal was signed by the defence ministry in Kuwait and is estimated to be worth £70 million (\$105 million). The planes are Hawk Mark 64s, similar to those used by the Royal Air Force for advanced flying, weapons training and air defence. They are capable of carrying 3,000 kilograms of ground attack weapons, which according to British Aerospace is a much bigger payload than that carried by any other aircraft in the same class. [Text] [Paris AN-NAHAR ARAB REPORT & MEMO in English No 45, 7 Nov 83 p 9]

CSO: 4400/65

## BANKS SEE PUBLIC SECTOR AS RELATIVELY SECURE INVESTMENT

Paris AN-NAHAR ARAB REPORT &amp; MEMO in English No 45, 7 Nov 83 p 6

[Text]

With Lebanon's productive economy paralysed by foreign occupation and political uncertainty, the banks have a crucial role to play in helping the government and the private sector survive the financial strain. The banking sector has provided one of the rare bright spots in the economy over the last eight years of upheaval, partly because it is less vulnerable to war-time constraints than the "real" side of the economy. Banks, with relatively mobile resources of labour and physical capital, have shown flexibility, expertise and resilience.

But the revenue-starved government has had to resort increasingly to domestic borrowing to cover its current account deficit, widened in recent months notably by high levels of military spending. According to Prime Minister Shafiq al-Wazzan, military costs are currently running at LL 40-50 million (\$7.8-9.7 million) a day. With a growing share of the banking sector's resources being diverted to the public sector, it is legitimate to question the banks' ability to continue lending to the private sector on the scale required.

By the end of August, banks held deposits totalling about LL 36 billion (\$7 billion at today's exchange rate), as well as the equivalent of about LL 15 billion in foreign currency deposits. Of the LL 36 billion in local currency, LL 13-14 billion had been loaned to the government; another LL 5 billion was deposited with the Central Bank in line with the 15 per cent compulsory reserve ratio. Given that the banks' cash policy of keeping about 10 per cent of deposits in liquid form would account for a further LL 3.6 billion, this left only LL 14-15 billion available for lending to the private sector, much of which is already heavily in debt to the banks. The banks' capital and retained earnings of some LL 5.5-6 billion should of course also be taken into account.

This scenario led to suggestions that competition for scarce funds would develop between the public and private sector, leading to upward pressure on interest rates

such as has been seen on a larger scale in the United States over the past two years. High interest rates would have a depressing effect on private business activity and perhaps slow down economic recovery.

Such a pessimistic outlook is not shared by Dr André Chaib, who heads the Department of Economic Studies and Statistics at the Central Bank. He told this newsletter that since banks did not depend solely on deposits for their lending capacity their total balance sheet of around LL 55 billion (\$10.7 billion) meant that about LL 32 billion (\$6.2 billion) was available for lending to the private sector, apart from the LL 14 billion loaned to the public sector.

"The banking sector is in general very liquid," Dr Chaib asserted, pointing out that Treasury bills can be readily discounted if not in the general market, at least in the Central Bank. "There is room for lending to the private sector, but demand is low," he said. Therefore, while present circumstances continue there seems little risk that interest rates, now around 14 per cent, will rise substantially because of a scramble for credit by the public and private sectors.

For the moment, banks see the public sector as a relatively secure investment, especially compared to the heavily indebted private sector. Dr Chaib conceded that banks probably have lost more in "bad debts" than they are prepared to admit in published statistics, but noted that many banks had followed the Central Bank's advice in the last two years by raising their capital and making provisions for losses instead of distributing profits. As a result, he said: "Banks are fairly confident about their position, although profits are likely to fall."

Dr Chaib stressed that the present reluctance of the banking sector to lend to industry, agriculture and even trade could be short-lived, according to how the general political and economic climate develops. He noted that

while bank deposits at the Central Bank had risen in the last few months, credit to the private sector – and even the public sector – had not increased dramatically, a sign of prudence and financial orthodoxy on the part of the banking system. The growth of the domestic public debt from LL 14 billion to LL 18 billion this year is comparable to last year's increase from LL 7 billion to LL 14 billion, he said.

Most of the rise in public debt has come directly from the Central Bank, rather than from the banks. Central Bank lending to the government now stands at LL 5.3 billion and the ceiling for such lending has been raised progressively from LL 3 billion to LL 9 billion inside a year. Dr Chaib observed that LL 2 billion of the public debt was outstanding at the end of 1982, leaving some LL 3-3.5 billion in additional lending this year. Admitting that such money creation was potentially inflationary, Dr Chaib said the danger was reduced because other factors were working in the opposite direction. As he put it: "Raising the money base is less inflationary during a recession than during a boom."

In Dr Chaib's view, it is unrealistic of the private sector to ascribe its troubles to inflation, interest rates or exchange rates though sharp fluctuations are admittedly a

problem. The real difficulty is structural and relates to the inability of companies to produce and sell in present conditions. Firms that complain that they cannot market their exports because of an appreciating Lebanese pound ignore the fact that the same factor makes it cheaper to import the raw materials on which most depend. If they argue the reverse when the pound is depreciating, one suspects they may just be lobbying for subsidies. Productivity is the key to profitability. Dr Chaib said, adding that economic and political conditions of the last few years had taken the competitive edge from many Lebanese companies, especially in view of the explosion in technology that had taken place elsewhere.

Asked to what extent the growth in the public debt should be a cause for concern, Dr Chaib replied that he was preoccupied mainly by the loss of flexibility in the economy caused by the fact that the public sector was controlling a higher percentage of available resources. This diminishes the room for the private sector, which has generally proved itself more efficient, he said. It was not healthy for the public sector to be taking a larger share of the pie at a time of no growth. "However," Dr Chaib concluded, "the government has little choice in the matter until it gets the chance to release the animal spirits of the private sector."

CSO: 4400/66

## NEW LOANS WILL STRENGTHEN CENTRAL BANK CONTROL

Paris AN-NAHAR ARAB REPORT &amp; MEMO in English No 45, 7 Nov 83 p 7

## [Text]

The recent law requiring 51 per cent of shares in new banks to be held by Lebanese nationals is part of a growing pattern of increased central bank control that has emerged in recent months. Legislation earlier this year raised the minimum capital requirement for new banks from LL 50 million to LL 75 million. And, last week, a central bank circular was issued to commercial banks setting out, for the first time, liquidity and solvency ratios governing bank lending. The new law also introduced the principle of reciprocity, according to which foreigners may own shares in Lebanese banks only if Lebanese are allowed to hold shares in banks in their countries. Until this time, the maximum foreign holding in Lebanese banks had been 50 per cent. Foreign shareholders of existing banks will not be allowed to raise their holdings above 49 per cent.

The Banking Control Commission (BCC) – the official body responsible for regulating banking in Lebanon – says it wants to strengthen its control of the commercial banking sector for a number of reasons, including better management of monetary policy, to raise standards of banking practice and to avoid the risk of a bank collapse which might damage the country's overall banking reputation. Some bankers have pointed out that a number of banks have made imprudent or unguaranteed loans and face severe losses from default.

Part of the BCC's measures will be stronger vetting of the ownership of banks to try to prevent the apparently growing trading in bank licences and to discourage the practice of establishing banks to set the seal on a successful business empire.

Future transactions in bank shares will require BCC approval, who will apply more rigorously than in the past criteria of public reputation, creditworthiness and trading record of individuals before allowing transactions to go through and new banks to be established, or for existing banks to change hands. In the words of one well-known

banker: "Future bank owners will have to inspire confidence in the banking sector."

The new law also requires that, by the 1983 annual general meeting (presumably, during 1984) of any bank, all bearer shares shall be converted to nominal shares, by registering ownership with the BCC. The effect of this will be to make the ownership of banks public knowledge and end the secrecy that still surrounds some bank shares. It is also a necessary condition of the 51 per cent rule.

Measures are also being taken for the first time to place stricter limits on bank lending by introducing liquidity and solvency ratios. The measures come into effect at the end of 1984 and will require banks to maintain 25 per cent of their deposits and liabilities in cash or near-liquid assets, which for these purposes includes Treasury Bills. One banking expert suggested that this provision – the inclusion of Treasury Bills – was a purpose-built 'loophole', which would allow the government to continue recent high levels of borrowing from the commercial banks. At the same time, banks must also retain three per cent of their capital (plus reserves) as cash or liquid assets.

The Commission believes that these measures will help to strengthen the weaker banks by forcing them to increase their capital if their current levels of lending are to be maintained; alternatively, where capital may not be easily forthcoming, smaller banks will be encouraged to merge. The BCC also believes that stronger banks will make for more competition and better banking for consumers. However, this is to be regarded as a long-term goal rather than an immediate effect.

Several bankers told this newsletter that these measures would be unlikely to have the desired effect. Rather, they believed, the rapidly increasing cost of banking operations and the shortage of trained and experienced banking staff would be much more decisive in dividing the weak from the strong and the forcing of mergers. And if

large amounts of foreign aid come into Lebanon for post-war reconstruction, the likely inflationary effect of this will tend to accelerate forces already in motion.

One banking expert advocated taking the bull by the horn and forcing through bank mergers now, using enforcement procedures currently available to the BCC. "Many banks are showing loans and interest earnings in their accounts which everyone knows are not going to be repaid," he said. "Eventually, increasing costs are going to force banks out of business, or to raise their capital or to merge. The Banque du Liban should act now and force these mergers through, rather than wait for the situation to worsen."

Until now, the BCC has had the authority to appoint a supervisor to run the affairs of banks that had run the risk of bankruptcy or were being run on unsound banking principles, as these were understood by the Commission. The weakness of this procedure, said a banker, was that it depended upon the cooperation of the bank directors,

who may not allow the supervisor to exercise proper control. If, for example, a board of directors chose to allow unsecured loans to continue to be made to its members – which is illegal, but it happens – it was difficult to stop this, short of taking full powers after formal notice from a bankruptcy court. Since the very word bankruptcy is virtually taboo in banking circles, the BCC has never resorted to this final step, fearing damage to the whole banking community. "The authorities will never let any bank go bankrupt," said a banker. "Not after Intra!"

Under new regulations now in force, the Banking Court (a body on which the central bank, the BCC and other interested parties are represented) will be able to take full control of a bank's affairs without having to go through formal bankruptcy proceedings. This, the Commission said, would allow the central bank to be effective without raising a damaging public scandal and would go some way to strengthening general confidence in Lebanese banking.

CSO: 4400/66

## FRENCH AID GOES BEYOND MILITARY PRESENCE

Paris AN-NAHAR ARAB REPORT & MEMO in English No 45, 7 Nov 83 pp 7, 8

## [Text]

The most eye-catching manifestation of France's policy of support for Lebanon and the government of President Amin Gemayel is the presence of French troops in the multinational force in Beirut and in the UN peacekeeping force in south Lebanon. The French government has also allocated substantial sums for military, economic and humanitarian aid, though this aspect of France's relationship with Lebanon receives less publicity. The following summary of French assistance is based on figures disclosed to this newsletter by the French Ministry of External Relations and the Ministry of Defence.

Last May, France extended a soft loan of FF 1 billion (\$125 million), only a small part of which has been used so far because the deterioration in the security situation has delayed many reconstruction projects. About half of the total amount is earmarked for airport, port and garbage incineration equipment, water treatment and a mineral terminal. The rest is also destined for projects that have been held up by insecurity.

As a member of the EEC, France contributed to a financial protocol of 50 million ECUs (\$43 million) for Lebanon that was signed in June 1982 and came into effect in March 1983. France also provided 20 per cent of the financing for an exceptional loan of 50 million ECUs (\$43 million) extended by the EEC in November 1982. In March this year, the European Community granted an additional 20 million ECUs (\$17.2 million) for a project to bring water from Damour to Beirut, with France again supplying 20 per cent of the money.

As far as the cost of French military spending in Lebanon is concerned, precise figures are hard to come by. The Defence Ministry declined to reveal the cost of maintaining the 900-strong French contingent in UNIFIL on

the grounds that the operation is administered by the UN Security Council. According to French Prime Minister Pierre Mauroy, the cost of France's military involvement in Chad and Lebanon combined has amounted to FF 1 billion and Defence Ministry officials told this newsletter that Lebanon accounted for 30-40 per cent of this. In addition, French officials estimate the cost of the now-completed operation to clear mines and explosives from the streets of Beirut at FF 40 million (\$5 million).

In 1982, France made a soft loan of FF 600 million to Lebanon for military purchases, as well as an unspecified amount in grants. This year, it has provided a grant of FF 27 million (\$3.4 million) for on-the-spot military training.

Grants for cultural cooperation in 1983 amount to FF 53 million (\$6.6 million) and are to be spent on education, prefabricated classrooms, radio and television. Grants totalling FF 28 million (\$3.5 million) are to be distributed among the Université St Joseph, infrastructure in the Greater Beirut area and administrative reform. A further grant of FF 15 million (\$1.9 million) covers the repair of 6,000 telephone lines.

A grant of FF 127 million (\$15.875 million) has been made available for the financially troubled Hotel Dieu hospital, of which FF 47 million has gone on repairs and the remaining FF 80 million will be spent over the next three years.

France has also provided humanitarian assistance in the form of tents, blankets and other supplies. Though no overall figure was available, the French Red Cross alone has spent FF 500,000 (\$62,500) on such aid. France has also contributed 20 per cent of EEC humanitarian aid to Lebanon.

# SHIPPING INDUSTRY FACING STRAIN

London AL-HAWADITH in Arabic No 1405, 7 Oct 83 pp 61-62

[Article by 'Adnan Karima: "Lebanese Ships Drowning in Debt; Commercial Shipping Is Obsolete; Conversion of Cattle Carrying Ships to Passenger Ships Needs Much Aid From the State"]

[Text] In the end of last June there were discussions between the president of the Lebanese Ship Owners Cooperative, Anwar Ghazawi, and the president of the board of directors of the Middle East Airlines--the Lebanese Airlines, Mr Salim Salam, in which they dealt with a plan for coordination and cooperation for the application of regulations issued by the United Nations having to do with the organization of different types of transport (land, sea, and air) and the taking of a united Lebanese position concerning the subjects which will be submitted to the UNCTAD [United Nations Conference on Trade and Development] conference which is to be held in Geneva in November of this year.

Not much time elapsed before the Beirut International Airport was shut down, the first time, before the end of last August after the Beirut events and the southern suburbs, and a search began in earnest for cooperation between the land and sea fleets in the service of Lebanon and the Lebanese economy, especially after Middle East Airlines agreed with the Cypriot government to renew the flights of its line by way of the Larnaka Airport. Salim Salam requested from the president of the Lebanese Ship Owners Cooperative, Anwar Ghazawi, the equipping of a ship for transporting passengers to Larnaka, as a preliminary step to transporting them by the company's planes to the different countries of the world.

However, the director of Middle East was surprised by the lack of any passenger ships in the Lebanese commercial fleet which includes 260 freighters. In view of the dire need for a ship to transport passengers, an agreement was concluded to equip a freighter which had unloaded in Tripoli with chairs, tents and blankets. However, luckily for these passengers, the Beirut International Airport was reopened, and they flew out on the wings of the cedar rather than on the sea beneath the rays of the sun on a freighter.

As a result of the tensions, since security conditions were unsettled, the Middle East Airline Company continued its efforts to rent a tourist ship for

transporting the passengers of its flights from Beirut to Larnaka and vice versa. These expectations were well-founded, as no more than a few days elapsed after the reopening of the airport before it was closed again to aviation after the bursting forth of the battle of al-Jabal. This time the company found what it was looking for in a Greek ship knowing that passenger ships are very busy during the summer season. Thus, the passengers of Middle East Airline were luckier in terms of comfort in transit on the sea route whereas most of the other travellers, if not all of them, were transported on freighters for very high fees. They were exploited by travel offices which increased the confusion which pervaded this transportation whether in the harbor of Beirut or the harbor of Larnaka as well as the other harbors which were used for the transport of passengers. All of this was in spite of the arrangements made by the Ministry of Tourism in cooperation with the National Council for Foreign Economic Relations.

Perhaps the cause reverts to the following factors:

First: The fact that Port Beirut is not equipped for the embarkation and debarkation of passengers, because its facilities are limited only to freight.

Second: Huge number of travelling passengers, of whom more than four times as many were leaving as compared to those returning, amounting to more than a thousand passengers per day.

Third: The transportation operation was begun on the private initiative of two ship owners whose two ships transported stranded passengers from Larnaka to Beirut. When the rest of the ship owners realized the tremendous profits which could be made in this operation, the number increased to 40 freighters transporting Lebanese between Lebanese ports (Beirut, Tripoli, Tyre, and Sidon) and neighboring ports (Larnaka, Latakia in Syria, Alexandria and Port Said in Egypt).

If the union of travel offices participated with concerned authorities in the planning of transport investment, then the usage of ships still remains unorganized.

Why didn't the Lebanese Ship Owners Cooperative participate in the work plan of these vessels?

It appears that the custodians of the Cooperative and foremost among them, its president, Anwar Ghazawi, did not agree to the use of these ships equipped for transporting goods and animals for the transport of citizens, without even providing them with minimal facilities for comfort even if that was impractical for numerous reasons. The cooperative preferred to not interfere knowing that it would not be possible to oppose at the same time the usage of these vessels.

The reasons can be traced to the condition of the Lebanese commercial fleet which was borne without assistance throughout the war years the dangers of transporting imported goods to Lebanese ports. Great losses resulted from

this. Due to the Israeli invasion last summer, stopping freight from 1 June to 30 September, its losses were estimated to amount to about \$32 million.

During the time when the war raged in Lebanon and all of its economic sectors were paralyzed, in order to stay in the business of international transport Lebanese ship owners were forced to bear the following burdens:

--They had to keep their ships in Mediterranean ports, and they had to pay the entire salaries to their crews including captains, engineers, technicians, and sailors. During this period the salaries amounted to about \$16.6 million.

--When traffic was halted between Beirut and other countries on the Mediterranean, ship owners had to borrow necessary funds from banks at interest rates not less than 15 percent a year (approximately 5 percent for a period of 4 months) which amounted to \$833,000 during the stoppage.

--The ship owners had to uphold their financial and administrative responsibilities with respect to their on-shore employees, so some of them paid 75 percent of salaries, while others paid 50 percent or even 100 percent. These losses are estimated to total about \$5 million for the salaries of about 4,000 employees.

--Loss of capital: When 40 percent of ship owners were in debt to banks for the value of their ships, the interest for this debt for the duration of the stoppage was not less than \$1 million.

--Losses as a result of the inability to bring freight into Beirut, with a goal of evaluating this loss, the Cooperative figured that it amounted to 20 percent of expenditures or \$3.3 million.

After the Port of Beirut resumed business in the last quarter of last year, the ship owners thought that the great amount of importation and exportation passing through Lebanese ports would recompense them for their losses or at least for part of them, however the intense foreign competition to which they were exposed, especially from Greek ships which had refused to embark for the Port of Beirut during difficult days, clouded their hopes. Even the state did not respond to their request for protection from competition and distribution of traffic to ports according to the resolutions of the organization, UNCTAD, and which ruled that 40 percent of freight should be for Lebanese ships as opposed to 40 percent for importing or exporting countries whereas the last 20 percent should be for different ships according to supply and demand. As a result of this competition, 89 ships in the Lebanese fleet were forced to stop work in the ports of Beirut, Tripoli, and Cyprus, during the past months which preceded the closing of the airport, which lead to increased losses for their owners.

When the transport experienced a big demand from passengers travelling between Syrian, Lebanese, Cypriot, and Egyptian ports, the ship owners found their chance to work and recompense themselves for some of their losses:

40 of the stalled 89 ships were able to find work for themselves in transporting passengers after they were unable to transport goods or livestock. The question that arises here is: Why didn't some of these ships develop so as to have at least minimal comforts for human beings?

The president of the Lebanese Ship Owners Cooperative, Anwar Ghazawi, answers that the ships of the Lebanese fleet are specialized in freight, and it is not practical for some of them to convert to passenger ships. As for equipping some of them with minimal facilities for human comfort, that would require expenditures which exceed the income which they can expect to gain from transporting passengers, especially because it is not possible to determine the extent of traffic which is dependent upon the reopening of Beirut International Airport. It is probable that the airport will resume activity by the publication of this issue of AL-HAWADITH, but the ship owners lack the financial liquidity because of their debts.

Responding to the question if it would be possible to use passenger ships from tourist lines if they were available between Lebanese ports after the return of stability, Mr Ghazawi answered, "This project is contained in the plan of the Ship Owners Cooperative which deals with the modernization of the Lebanese commercial fleet, and it is not possible to carry out this plan without aid from the state.

In order to understand the condition of the commercial fleet it is possible to refer to information in a report submitted by the Ship Owners Cooperative to the president of the Council for Reconstruction and Development, Dr Muhammad 'Atallah, which requests the creation of a sea transport industry, benefiting from loans earmarked for industrialists and that would be participation from the state in modernizing the fleet and protecting it from foreign competition.

The early 70's saw the actual beginning of the commercial fleet when it was composed of 80 ships whose cargo capacity was about 182 tons. Despite its small size and as a result of individual initiatives this fleet was able to enter areas of maritime transport between Lebanon and the outside world. It began to grow in numbers and capacity until there were 260 ships capable of carrying 600,000 tons.

However what ails the Lebanese fleet is its advancing age, such that the ships which are less than 20 years old comprise 39 percent of the fleet, whereas the remaining 61 percent have seen more than 20 years of service.

Despite this fact the amount of money invested in the fleet is not less than \$70 million. Its commercial importance has been evidenced during the last few years when its share of the action in the Beirut harbor was not less than 18 percent not to speak of its activities in other ports.

The modernization plan aims for the following:

First: Extension of loans to Lebanese ship owners which would allow them to replace their present craft with more modern ones.

Second: 57 percent of the ships in the fleet have a load capacity between 500 and 1,500 tons whereas 25 percent have a capacity between 1,500 and 4,000 tons, and the rest have a capacity greater than 4,000 tons at a time when the Ship Owners Cooperative feels that economical capacities necessary in the future for new ships should not be less than 4,000 tons, in order to be able to carry out contractual requirements fundamental to maritime transactions.

Third: Dispatching of tourist lines for sea transport, and supplying modern passenger ships, which would transport people between Lebanese ports and other foreign ports.

While waiting for Beirut Airport to reopen (and perhaps it will open today), and while the Lebanese commercial fleet is being modernized and as long as it is subject to the stability of the political and security situation and the extension of the control of the state over all the regions and ports of Lebanon, Lebanese will continue to travel at sea on freighters designated for the transport of goods and livestock.

In regards to the independence of travellers from high rates, it appears that has lessened somewhat as a result of the intervention of the Ministry of Tourism and the National Council for Foreign Economic Relations and which lead to the reduction of the tariff to the tune of about 150 liras, and competition between ships and travel offices participated in turn in a noticeable reduction, knowing that the onslaught of sea travellers had decreased also from what it had been after the closing of Beirut international!

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CSO: 4404/84

## BRIEFS

TRADE WITH CAIRO TO INCREASE--Ibrahim Halawi, Lebanon's Minister for Economy and Trade has signed an agreement with his Egyptian counterpart, Mr Mustafa al-Sa'id, calling for increased trade between the two countries and for more goods to be exempted from customs duties. Trade is and will continue to be regulated under the protocol of 1965. The ministers agreed to set up a joint committee to investigate ways in which the volume of goods already traded under the protocol could be increased. In addition, Egypt said that it would import apples from Lebanon in proportion to Lebanese imports from Egypt. Trade between the two countries is currently running at about \$40 million a year. In another development, Egypt Air, the national Egyptian carrier, has resumed flights to Lebanon. Flights had been suspended following the bombing of the US Marines headquarters at Beirut International Airport. The airline plans three flights a week between Beirut and Cairo.

[Text] [Paris AN-NAHAR ARAB REPORT & MEMO in English No 45, 7 Nov 83 p 10]

POPULATION SURVEYED--Contrary to previous estimates, the population in southern Lebanon is approaching 1 million. New figures on the number of people living in southern Lebanon have been disclosed recently. The figure has been estimated at 600,000 to 700,000 persons. The last population census in Lebanon was conducted in 1932, and since then the population figures have been estimated only for parts of the country. Recently there was an attempt to conduct a thorough investigation to determine as accurately as possible the population in the areas controlled by the IDF in southern Lebanon. To the surprise of all, it turned out that the population in this area numbers 975,000, out of whom more than 50 percent--about 500,000--are Shi'ites. The new figures strengthen the policy recently adopted by the Defense Ministry, which calls for making a greater effort to tighten the bonds with the Shi'ite population in southern Lebanon. [Re'uven Pedahzur]

[Text] [TA141106 Tel Aviv HA'ARETZ in Hebrew 14 Nov 83 p 1]

CSO: 4400/68

**FURTHER REPORTAGE ON ERSHAD VISIT TO THE UNITED STATES**

**Text of Los Angeles 29 Oct Speech**

**Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 31 Oct, 1 Nov 83**

**[31 Oct 83 p 4]**

**[Text] Following is the text of the Chief Martial Law Administrator Lt. General H. M. Ershad's speech delivered at the World Affairs Council in Los Angeles on October 29.**

**Mr. Chairman, Mr. Edmonde A. Haddad, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen,**

**I thank you most sincerely for affording me this opportunity to address such a distinguished gathering. The World Affairs Council is well-known for its contribution to a better understanding of major global and regional issues by providing a meaningful insight into these issues and thereby promoting the cause of international peace and understanding. I am, therefore, particularly happy to be able to share with you our thoughts on how we in Bangladesh view the world and our own perception of some of the current issues confronting the world.**

**In order to put the matters in their proper perspective, let me first of all say a few words about my own country. Bangladesh, as you all know, emerged as an independent nation following the War of Independence in 1971. We look upon our struggle for independence as a struggle against the forces of domination and exploitation. Though a young country, we have rich historical and cultural traditions dating back to centuries. Islam is the dominant faith in Bangladesh and our history and traditions are deeply rooted in Islam. We came in direct contact with the West even before the days of the Raj, and as a result our political economic and social organisations, as well as values and perceptions have been influenced by the West almost to the extent that the West herself has taken from us those products of our own ancient civilisation which manifest themselves in so many ways. This, in fact, is how history increased through the intermingling and cross migration of people and their ways of life.**

**Bangladesh is a developing country inhabited by over 90 million people in an area of about 56,000 square miles throughly the size of the State of Wisconsin.**

This makes Bangladesh the most densely populated country in the world. Although the country is potentially rich, the human and material resources are yet to be explored and exploited and the social and economic infrastructures are yet to be developed. As a result, the question of economic and social development is the most pressing preoccupation of our society.

Our emergence as an independent nation about twelve years ago coincided with great upheavals in the international economic and political scene. Our experience over the years has convinced us that the success of our efforts at nation building is vitally linked with the existence of a congenial international environment. Promotion of international peace and security and development of close and friendly relations with all the countries of the world, irrespective of their social and political systems and ideology has, therefore, been our consistent effort. In pursuing this objective we have been governed by the principles of sovereign equality of states, territorial integrity and non-use of force, non-interference and non-intervention in the internal affairs of other states and peaceful settlement of all disputes. These are, in fact the pillars of the United Nations Charter, the basic principles of the Non-Aligned Movement and the driving force behind the aims and objectives of the Organisation of the Islamic Conference on the one hand and the Commonwealth on the other. As you know, we are one of the very few countries which belong to all these organisations.

#### Foreign Policy

A cardinal principle of our foreign policy is to seek the closest possible relations with our immediate neighbours in South Asia. In so far as India is concerned, although there are a number of issues which still remain unresolved, the areas of mutually beneficial co-operation between our two countries have been expanding and inter-action in many fields, notably in trade and commerce, continues. I paid an official visit to India around this time last year and my discussions with the Indian Prime Minister provided a fresh impetus to our bilateral relations. We shall continue the dialogue to resolve the outstanding issues in a spirit of good neighbourliness. Some of these issues--the just and fair apportionment of the waters of the international river Ganges implementation of the 1974 Land Boundary Agreement, demarcation of maritime boundary, the ownership of the recently emerged island of South Talpatty--are of vital concern to us. These issues, however, should not stand in the way of forging close and mutually beneficial relationship between the two countries.

Similarly, in spite of the two outstanding issues--division of assets and repatriation to Pakistan of non-Bangladeshis who have declared their allegiance to Pakistan--the relations between Bangladesh and Pakistan have developed satisfactorily. Our relations with Bhutan, Burma, Maldives; Nepal and Sri Lanka are excellent. I would like specially to mention here that our negotiated settlement of the refugee problem with Burma a few years ago stands out as one of the most glorious examples of peaceful solution of disputes through dialogue and negotiation and a shining example of good neighbourliness. I have had the pleasure of paying official visits recently to Burma, Nepal and Maldives. I was overwhelmed by the friendship and understanding shown by the leaders and peoples of these countries towards Bangladesh.

Although there is no contiguous border with China--a thin strip of territory lies between our two countries--we consider China as a neighbouring country. Relations between our two peoples go back to many centuries. It is only natural for the two countries to seek to strengthen their contact and cooperation in the political, economic and other fields. The enthusiastic reception and cordiality extended by the Government and the people of China during my visit to that country last year bears eloquent testimony to the vitality and strength of our bilateral relations.

#### Regional Cooperation

In the regional context one recent development merits special mention. In 1980 Bangladesh took the initiative for structured regional cooperation in South Asia. In August this year the Foreign Ministers of seven South Asian countries comprising Bangladesh, Bhutan, India, Maldives, Nepal, Pakistan and Sri Lanka met in New Delhi and launched a programme for regional cooperation covering a number of fields. Viewed in the context of their past inhibitions, this is a major break-through. We do hope that the process set in motion would not only act as an impetus to increased cooperation in the social and economic fields but would also lead to better understanding and amity among the countries of our region.

As a Muslim country, Bangladesh feels a special sense of affinity with the Islamic World. Our policy to establish close and friendly relations with the Islamic countries of Asia and Africa is a natural expression of our history and tradition. As a member of the Organisation of the Islamic Conference Bangladesh has played an important role in promoting understanding and harmony among the member-states.

It is a measure of recognition of the contributions made by Bangladesh in this regard that today Bangladesh is a member of the Al-Quds Ministerial Committee, Al-Quds Summit Committee, Islamic Peace Committee, on Iraq-Iran War, Islamic Solidarity Fund, Standing Committee on Information and Culture of OIC, Permanent Finance, Committee of the OIC and the Islamic Commission for Economic, Cultural and Social Affairs. In a few weeks time we will host the 14th Islamic Foreign Ministers Conference in Dhaka. This is an important occasion for us and we hope that the meeting will take important decision to strengthen the bonds of friendship and cooperation among the member states.

#### Common Problems

As a developing country with common experience of domination and exploitation, Bangladesh has consistently expressed solidarity with the countries of the Third World. We share with them many common problems in the social and economic fields and to a large measure the hopes and aspirations of our peoples are also similar. We have therefore, worked together in many international forums for the promotion of our common objectives.

I had earlier referred to the influence of the West in what is Bangladesh today. The link between the Western countries and Bangladesh have over the years strengthened because of regular exchanges in many fields and shared values and

perceptions. As the leader of the free world, the United States occupies a special place in our country. We have followed with great admiration the unique contribution of your country in the cause of peace and progress. The United States has made significant contribution towards our economic and social development for which we are deeply grateful. The Western countries as a whole continue to be our dominant partner in the economic and trade fields. Development of close relations with the West remains a primary objective of our foreign policy.

As a developing country we attach particular importance to the International Organisation specially the United Nations as important forums in promote the cause of world peace and security as well as to facilitate flow of resources and technology from the developed to the developing countries and increased exchanges in trade and commerce. As a member of the Non-Aligned Movement, we have worked in concert with other like minded countries in reducing international tension and seeking peaceful solutions of the global political and economic problems. We are committed to continue our efforts in this direction.

I would now like to deal with some of the specific problems facing the International Community today. Our position in regard to these problems derives directly from our general perception of the world that I have outlined so far.

#### West Asian Situation

The situation in West Asia continues to remain explosive and new dimensions to the already complex and unresolved issues are being added. Bangladesh is committed to support all efforts undertaken to achieve a comprehensive, just and durable solution of the West Asian crisis based on complete withdrawal of Israel from all occupied Arab territories including Jerusalem and the restoration of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people under the leadership of the PLO, their sole and legitimate representative. Including their right to a sovereign independent state of their own. Both the Reagan Peace Plan and the Arab Peace Plan formulated at Fez merit serious attentions, and I believe that the current emerging situation proves that all of us must retain the capacity to respond to changing situations without sacrificing principles.

We in Bangladesh have continued to take keen fraternal interest in the developments in the West Asia region. In view especially of our close religious and historical links, we feel deeply anguished at the prolonged cycles of violence destruction and misery that continue to negate all efforts to bring about peace based on a just solution to the problems of the region.

The ceasefire accord and the agreement to start a national dialogue among the parties concerned in Lebanon have been a very positive development. It has been our earnest hope that this, as well as the spirit and understanding that prompted such initiatives, would contribute to the preservation of unity and sovereignty of Lebanon. We also believe that this would promote necessary conditions to allow concentration of efforts to find a just and durable solution of the Palestinian issue. We commend the outstanding efforts of the

United States and Saudi Arabia in bringing about the recent cease fire in Lebanon and can only hope that it will hold despite the uneasy situation prevailing there following the tragic events of last week which resulted in the loss of so many lives. We deplore such acts of violence and we believe that it is very important that the situation in Lebanon does not escalate.

#### Intervention Opposed

Mr. Chairman, Bangladesh has consistently opposed intervention by any country in the internal affairs of another country. We are, therefore, deeply concerned over the continued presence of foreign troops in Afghanistan and Kampuchea and reiterate our call for a political solution. Such a solution cannot be achieved without an immediate and unconditional withdrawal of foreign troops and allowing the peoples of Afghanistan and Kampuchea to decide their own destiny without any external interference and intervention. We appreciate the efforts of UN Secretary General to find a solution of the Afghanistan problem and that of ASEAN for a solution of the Kampuchean problem. I am referring to both these scenarios in the same breath because identical principles are involved although the nuances of the situation in the two areas are different from their regional points of view. As an Asian country, we in Bangladesh are deeply concerned that aggression was committed by external forces in both these countries and that this aggression is still present. We feel strongly about it and will do our utmost to ensure that there is no recurrence of this form or any other form of aggression in our region or in any other comparable situation.

Mr Chairman. We cannot but express our distress and anguish at the continued self-defeating and fratricidal conflict between Iran and Iraq. Bangladesh, as a member of the Islamic Peace Committee, has made extensive and in-depth efforts to resolve the conflict peacefully. It is great tragedy that despite our collective efforts, the war is still continuing. I must say that this war has not only brought in its trail untold suffering and destruction to our brotherly peoples in those two countries but has also cast a shadow on the unity and solidarity of the Third World. We should, therefore, like to make a renewed appeal to both Iran and Iraq to stop this armed conflict forthwith and resolve their differences through peaceful means. I must add here that we have been in close touch with both the leaders of Iran and Iraq with both of whom we enjoy very good relations. We are convinced that both sides desire peace. This must be clearly understood and it is precisely in this context that the international community must find ways and means to extricate both sides from this terrible, wasteful war.

#### Apartheid

Mr Chairman, The Policy of apartheid practised today in South Africa is an affront to humanity. It is in contravention of the United Nations Charter and Declaration of Human Rights and the Convention against Racial Discrimination. The policy of white minority rule is repugnant to the whole world. It stands in contradiction to all that is decent, humane and civilized in contemporary society.

Bangladesh is irrevocally committed to the cause of the Namibian people. As an active member of the Council for Namibia, Bangladesh firmly believes that the independence of Namibia can and must be achieved in accordance with the UN plan for Namibia, the only viable basis for peaceful transition of the territory from colonial subjugation to independence. We are opposed to any attempt to link the question of independence of Namibia to extraneous issues. The International Conference on Namibia held in Paris last April and the subsequent Security Council debate have amply demonstrated the firm commitment of the international community to the early independence of Namibia. I am confident that the leadership in the United States will find a way to reactivate the process of negotiations towards Namibian independence before the situation in this part of the world also takes an irreversible turn.

The situation in Cyprus is also a matter of grave concern to all of us. The intercommunal talks under the aegis of the UN Secretary General must make progress if we are to maintain the unity and Non-Aligned Status of Cyprus. These talks have gone on too long and we fear that unless there is flexibility in the current of affairs we may soon witness dramatic changes in the political structure of that island.

Mr. Chairman. As a littoral state we attach particular importance to the declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace. We have consistently maintained that the successful implementation of the UN Resolution on this subject will be in the interest of peace and security. It is in this context that we have actively participated in the deliberations of the Ad hoc Committee and supported the convening of a conference in Colombo to draw up an instrument ensuring peace and security in the region free from big power rivalry.

(Arms Race)

Mr Chairman. The continuing escalation of the arms race and the ever increasing diversion of scarce resources for military purposes is a matter of grave concern to us. We are told that the more heavily a country arms itself, the greater would be its security. But surely this philosophy of deterrence is without an end. The better one protects oneself the more threatened one's adversary feels and the race continues. We strongly feel that this process must be arrested and reversed and all efforts at a complete and universal disarmament should be undertaken in all earnest.

[1 Nov 83 p 4]

[Text] Following is the remaining part of the text of the chief Martial Law Administrator Lt. General H. M. Ershad's speech at the world affairs council in Los Angeles on October 29.

Mr. Chairman, Bangladesh believes that there is a vital link between disarmament and economic development. This is inherent in the recognition that peace and prosperity are indivisible. Accelerating military expenditures not only absorb considerable resources; they also constitute a basic destabilising

element in the entire world economy. Such expenditures are destructive even if the weapons they proliferate are never used for they inflict painful economic hardships on millions of people.

Underdevelopment is the cause of world political tension. In my address to the Second Special Session of the UN General Assembly on Disarmament, I had proposed in June last year that indiscriminate arms sales should be stopped and special levies should be imposed on all international sale of arms and the funds thus generated should be placed at the disposal of the United Nations for development purposes all over the world. I had also proposed that practical efforts should be made for the proper use and deployment of surplus resources to be released through disarmament for the development efforts of all countries to the world. I was happy to see that President Francois Mitterrand in his address to the current Session of the UN General Assembly, had suggested taxing the military powers in order to create a development fund for the Third World nations.

Mr Chairman. We believe that the international community should address itself to the adoption of comprehensive framework for disarmament. Let us resolve to build more homes and fewer bombs; to build more schools and fewer planes to work collectively to improve the quality of life of all our peoples rather than the quality of our weapons.

Mr Chairman. The global economy today is engulfed in a crisis, unprecedented in the whole post war period. It is a crisis that has affected virtually every country, but it is on the developing countries that the impact has been devastatingly severe in terms of human cost and reversal of development momentum. By any economic indicator the situation in the developing countries has sharply deteriorated over the last few years. Most of them suffered decline in per capita real income for the last two consecutive year to a level of 7% below that of 1980. The net foreign exchange loss suffered by the developing countries during the period since 1980 is estimated at about \$200 billion while the volume of their external debt reached a staggering \$630 billion. The ratio of debt service to export earnings now stands at about 24% compared to 15% to 18 per cent range generally considered safe. To add to this there has been a decline in Official Development Assistance and in private capital flow.

These developments have taken the wind out of the sails of developing countries like Bangladesh who have embarked upon planned development in the light of the international development strategy for the Third UN Development Decade. In most developing countries, the contraction of economic activities during the last few years has caused a state of emergency sometimes threatening their political and socio-economic structure. It is true that there has been reported signs of recovery in the economies of some of the developed countries notably in that of the United States of America. But these signs are at the most uneven tentative and tenuous and a sustained and long term recovery is nowhere in sight. Indeed some of the developed countries are still in the throes of a recession. Even these modest signs of recovery face ever present threats from disproportionately large budget deficit continued high interest rates possibilities of a renewed surge of inflation and continued high levels of unemployment.

Mr. Chairman

I need hardly to emphasise the growing importance of the developing countries in the world economy and the potentially significant role that they can play in achieving sustained recovery provided they are backed by appropriately positive policy measures on a global scale. Increased financial pressures on developing countries have led to a sharp decline in their imports of goods and all pressures on developing countries account for about 20% of OECD exports. This has further weakened the economies of the industrialised world and was a significant factor behind decline in the world trade last year. We find that the developed countries have recognised the important role of the developing countries in the declaration adopted at the Williamsburg Summit. But mere declarations of intent are not enough unless they are backed by appropriate mix of policy measures and a commitment to act.

This is what the developing countries have sought to advocate in UNCTAD-VI last June in Belgrade. In recognition of this essentially interdependent character of the global economy we adopted a pragmatic approach in New Delhi and Buenos Aires with a view to achieving a durable and sustained recovery from which all of us developed and developing countries alike stand to benefit. We have tried to stress that a pervasive crisis needs a comprehensive solution. We wish to stress once again that patchwork solution or ad hoc palliatives will be to the detriment of all of us in the end. We have been seeking to rekindle a global cooperation for development. We continue to believe that comprehensive global cooperation is necessary to bring about orderliness in the global monetary, financial and trade structures. This is what we consider to be the most urgent task before us. Such a task can be addressed within the framework of the global negotiations as envisaged in the General Assembly Resolution by pursuing the two phase flexible approach which was decided at the New Delhi Summit of the Non-aligned countries to accommodate various views. There are in fact large areas of agreement and other areas where agreement is possible. I feel that both the North and South must apply themselves to these areas leaving the contentious issue relating to restructuring to further examination and consideration.

I believe that the recent meeting of the IMF was a disappointment to many of us because we displayed a lack of political will. I have no doubt that the United States of America and her most time honoured institutions--the House of Representatives will in fact decide what they must, but surely on the basis of a global concept. For the United States the time is now to reconcile constituency politics to the need of the free world which she leads.

I must add a word here on what we call 'South-South Cooperating arising out of the Caracas Programme of Action. We in Bangladesh firmly believe that the essence of regional cooperation is the combined will of Third World countries to achieve collective self-reliance. We are determined that these programmes should succeed and during our Chairmanship of the Group of 77 last year we laid particular emphasis on this aspect. We feel that it is only through this form of cooperation that we can lend our cooperative strength to the efforts of the developed world towards a better future for all.

In conclusion I should like to underline that in our view unless we deal with the international economic issue side by side with global political problems we cannot build a stable and secure world polity. It should be recognised that many political problems have their roots in economic deprivation and a feeling of injustice. Both sets of problems, therefore should receive equal attention of the world community.

Thank you.

#### Honolulu Speech

Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 2 Nov 83 p 4

[31 Oct Speech on Honolulu]

[Text] The following is the text of address given by the Chief Martial Law Administrator Lt. Gen H. M. Ershad at the East-West Centre in Honolulu on October 31

The subject was Bangladesh Perspective'.

Mr. President Distinguished Guests, Ladies and Gentlemen,

It is indeed an honour for me to be with you this morning and to share some of our thoughts and perceptions about the problems currently being faced by us in Bangladesh and how we are proposing to deal with them. I particularly welcome this opportunity because East West Centre has an impressive record of promoting understanding among the nations and peoples of the Asia-Pacific region and the United States through study and research on a broad range of social, economic and political issues.

Ladies And Gentlemen.

Bangladesh, as you already know, is a country of about 56,000 square miles with a population of a little over 90 million. Nature has endowed us with fertile soil, plenty of water and mineral and marine resources which are yet to be fully explored and exploited. Our most important resource is our people who are extremely hard-working but needs to be trained and mobilised. Centuries of neglect and deprivation has left us at a low level of economic and social development resulting in our characterisation today as one of the world's LDCs.

Determined efforts on the part of our people to improve their lot is not unknown to you, Mr. President, and to the participants of this Centre who visited Bangladesh in recent years. Realising that political independence, devoid of economic self-reliance, holds little meaning for the teeming millions my Government has launched a charter of emancipation--a charter that will, on the one hand protect our national independence, territorial integrity and sovereignty and, on the other, reach the fruits of independence of our people through economic advancement.

Ours is a predominantly agricultural country where agriculture accounts for nearly 55% of the GDP, 75% of all employment and over 80% of all exports. To revitalise this vital sector the source of our sustenance and development, the present Government has introduced a number of measures. These measures provide for the supply of fertilizers, improved seeds and irrigation and credit facilities. Our aim is to achieve self-sufficiency in food within the next two years.

We believe that the existing land-man ratio calls for an innovative approach which will ensure better utilisation of our land resources without adversely affecting the existing ownership rights. We have, therefore, taken in hand a bold plan to introduce land reforms which will ensure equitable distribution of produce among the share croppers and the land owners establish land ceilings in the villages and towns and regulate distribution of non-transferable lands among the country's landless people. It also provides for minimum wages for our farm labourers.

Millions of small farmers spread over the country are committed to raise the level of their productivity and already their efforts are showing results. You will be happy to know that the traditional food deficit Bangladesh no longer fits in a basket-case image and the country is on the threshold of a break-through in foodgrains production.

In order to provide a new dimension and greater thrust to the industrialisation of the country, we have put in place a New Industrial Policy to strengthen and widen our industrial base. It encourages the private sector to play a more active role in the economy. To this end areas for private sector investment have been widened while limiting the public sector to basic, heavy and strategic industries only. Under the New Industrial Policy, we will continue to welcome and encourage foreign private investment particularly in new enterprises requiring specific technology. Our focus is on the intensive use of our own natural resources and industries having export potentials. To underscore the importance we attach to this field in Foreign Investment Cell has been set up directly under supervision of the Head of government with the task of expediting completion of all formalities in connection with foreign private investment including joint ventures. Apart from extending full legal protection to foreign investment, we have also introduced generous terms in regard to repatriation of profits, etc.'

Mr. President,

We cannot maintain our development momentum in the face of increasing pressure of population. To reap full benefits of economic development, it is imperative that we check the rapid growth of our population. We have, therefore, set the goal to reduce the rate of population growth to 1.5% through a two year crash programme

The national objective of achieving a measure of economic development rests on the successful and timely implementation of our various policies. This is possible only when the government machinery entrusted with the task of implementation of policies is responsive to the needs and aspirations of the people.

The age-old system of administration that was handed down to us as a legacy of colonialism has become burdensome and obsolete. We have, therefore, taken a number of steps to streamline administration and to make it village-oriented through planned decentralization.

Under the new system already introduced by my government, Upazila, the Sub-District will be the basic unit of Administration. An elected Chairman will supervise the work of the Upazila Council comprised of elected members and a team of officials representing the nation building departments. This effectively brings administration to the doorsteps of our people who will be directly participating in the running of their own affairs at the grass-roots level with the help of their own elected representatives. Our plan of upgrading the facilities in the Upazilas to enable them to undertake the new responsibilities is proceeding satisfactorily. Out of the 396 Upazilas earmarked for upgradation as the basic and most important tier of administration, 360 have already become functional. We are thus close to achieving our objective in this regard.

Along with administrative decentralisation, we have taken measures to restructure our judiciary for the purpose of quick dispensation of justice. In addition to the only High Court bench located in the capital city until recently, six more High Court benches have been set up in district headquarters ensuring geographical dispersal. Similarly, the magistracy has been taken to all the Upazilas.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

It is our firm belief that our national energies can blossom only in a democratic atmosphere. We are, therefore, committed to establish democracy which will be the people's democracy. The new democratic system will ensure that the fruits of democracy--basic necessities of life of our people--will reach the common man and he will be able to control his own destiny. To ensure the participation of people in the running of their own affairs through representatives elected on the basis of adult franchise we have scheduled a programme of transition which will begin with the election at the grass-roots level, Union Councils, throughout the country in a few weeks time. This will be followed by a countrywide Upazila Council and Municipal Corporation elections early next year. Preparations are also afoot for the holding of national elections in the country by March, 1985.

I should like to take this opportunity to say a few words about our foreign policy objectives. This is particularly because in the present day world the success of our efforts at nation building is dependent substantially on the international political and economic environment and the understanding and support that we receive from the international community.

Promotion of peace, amity and understanding among nations has, therefore, been the main thrust of our foreign policy. We have consistently striven to develop friendly relations with all the countries of the world particularly with our neighbours including China whom we consider to be our neighbour. In this context I should like specially to mention about the programme for South-

Asian Regional Cooperation first mooted and proposed by Bangladesh in 1980. The programme which covers Bhutan, Nepal, India, Pakistan, Maldives, Sri Lanka and Bangladesh was formally launched by the Foreign Ministers at their first ever meeting held in New Delhi in August this year. In our view this is a historic occasion particularly in the context of the past inhibitions that characterised their relations. It is our earnest hope that the process will lead to increased cooperation among the regional countries in various fields besides promoting better understanding and cohesion.

Our relations with the United States and the other Western countries as well as Japan have always been close and friendly. We share with them common values and perceptions and we are happy that over the years mutually beneficial co-operation has developed between these countries and Bangladesh. I should like to take this opportunity to express our particular gratitude to the Government and the people of the United States for their generous assistance and support in our nation building efforts.

Our relations with the countries of the Islamic World have traditionally been close, and we are actively associated with the Organisation of Islamic Conference. As a developing country we have closely worked with the countries of the Third World to promote our common objectives. We attach special importance to the United Nations as the pivotal organisation entrusted with the task of promoting international peace, security and social and economic development. We are committed to do everything possible to make the United Nations and other multilateral organisations strong. We are firmly committed to the aims and objectives of the Non-Aligned Movement in which we are active participants at the Summit level.

A basic thrust of our foreign policy is to oppose any form of discrimination, domination or exploitation. We have, therefore consistently supported all peoples struggling for their political and economic emancipation. We condemn in the strongest of terms the policy of racial discrimination and apartheid practised in South Africa. We view the continuing occupation of Namibia by South Africa as illegal and firmly support the struggle of the Namibian people for self-determination and independence in accordance with the relevant resolutions of the UN Security Council. We firmly believe that the right of the Namibian people to independence is so fundamental that it cannot be linked with any other issue whatsoever.

Bangladesh is opposed to interference by any country in the internal affairs of another country. We have, therefore, called for the immediate withdrawal of foreign troops from Afghanistan and Kampuchea and to allow people of these two countries to decide their own destiny without outside interference or intervention. We do hope that the various initiatives now under way to resolve these issues amicably will bear fruit.

The lack of progress in finding a viable solution to the West-Asian and Palestinian problem is a matter of deep concern to us. We believe that the Arab Peace Plan provides a viable basis for the solution of the problem taking into consideration the fact that the question of Palestine lies at the heart of the crisis, that acquisition of territory by force imposes an obligation on Israel

to withdraw from all occupied Arab territories including the Holy City of Jerusalem and the exercise by the Palestinian people of their inalienable right to self-determination including their right to have a state of their own in their homeland under the leadership of PLO, their sole and legitimate representative.

I have dealt with some of the pressing international political issues because these have a direct bearing on the environment in which all of us pursue our economic and social goals and objectives. An amicable solution to these problems will be in the interest of world peace and progress in which all of us have a common stake.

Thank you.

#### Remarks on Return

Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 5 Nov 83 pp 1, 12

[Text] The Chief Martial Law Administrator Lt. Gen. H. M. Ershad who returned home on Friday after his first official visit to the United States declared that his government was determined to ensure democratic process in the country and he warned, none would be allowed to disturb the election schedule already announced for peaceful transfer of power.

Addressing a massive crowd who came to Zia International Airport to accord him a hero's welcome for his successful US visit the CMLA urged the peace-loving people to resist and destroy the 'politics of destruction and slogans'. He said that the people no more want any chaos and anarchy in the country.

Criticising the role of those politicians who tried to disturb the democratic process through hartal the CMLA cautioned all that his government would not allow any one to foil the peaceful democratisation. He said that the people had already extended support to his government's decision to hold Presidential election by the middle of next year and polls to other 'local bodies'. He added that the people wanted to elect their president and leaders of other local bodies.

He advised the politicians to participate in the Presidential election and cast their popularity through ballot. He said that the politicians were trying to foil the election by creating chaos and anarchy in the country. He warned them that his government would not allow this to continue.

The CMLA said that prior to his departure for the United States he advised the politicians not to do any such thing that would tarnish the image of the country abroad. What the politicians who hold high their self interest had done, the people had seen, he told the gathering. He said that in the name of democracy they had intimidated people against going to office, set on fire private and public vehicles and damaged government property. The time had come for people to take account of these destructions by the politicians, he observed.

The CMLA urged people to resist the designs of the politicians in damaging the national property and disturbing the peaceful citizen's life. He said that nobody had the right to destroy government property. "Give the politicians a befitting reply in future", he told the gathering who reciprocated his call by raising their hands and chanting slogans. "They want to destroy and we want to build the country through hard work" he characterised the role of the politicians.

Referring to his US visit, the first official visit by a head of government from Bangladesh, General Ershad said that he had successfully enhanced the image of the country to the people of the United States and President Reagan. He said that he did not visit the United States to beg but to tell them "we are no more a nation of beggars". He said that he had expressed gratitude for the help and assistance of the US Government and people. "I told them we want you beside us as partners in progress" he added.

Reciprocating the slogan-chanting crowd who carried banners for implementation of 18-point programmes the CMLA said that the programmes belong to the people and those were aimed at improving the lot of the common man. He congratulated the workers and supporters of 18-Point Implementation Council, Naton Bangla Jubo Sanghati and Chhatra Samaj Swadhin Trade Union Federation, Mukti Joddha Sangsad and others who converged at the airport to give him a tumultuous reception. Throwing the floral wreaths presented to him to the crowd the CMLA said "you deserve this and it will bring wreaths for the country". The responsive crowd burst into overwhelming joy and enthusiasm at this gesture of good will by their leader.

The administrator of Dhaka Municipal Corporation Major General Mahmudul Hasan who congratulated the CMLA on his return from his successful US visit on behalf of the crowd said that the people from all walks of life had spontaneously converged at the airport to accord their heartiest welcome to General Ershad and express their solidarity with the 18-point programmes.

Earlier on his arrival at the airport the CMLA was received by Deputy Chief Martial Law administrators Read Admiral M. A. Khan and Air Vice Marshal Sultan Mahmud members of the cabinet heads of diplomatic mission and highranking military and civil officials. The CMLA was given a Guard of Honour at the tarmac.

The CMLA was accompanied back home by Begum Ershad Foreign Minister Mr. A. R. Shams-ud Doha, Minister for Local Government and Rural Development Mr. Mahbubur Rahman General Staff Major General N. A Chisti and other members of his entourage

The 18-point Implementation Council Mukti Joddha Sangsad Swadhin Trade Union Federation Naton Bangla Jubo Sanghati Naton Bangla Chhatra Samad four-point Implementation Committee of Dhaka University Bangladesh Nagorik Shanghati Krishak Shanghati T&T Federal Sramik Union and Kawran Bazar Hawkers' Samity organised the grand reception to General Ershad at the airport.

The workers and supporters of these organisations in thousands converged at the Zia International Airport from different corners of the city and suburbs carrying banners and posters and chanting various slogans.

#### OBSERVER Editorial

Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 5 Nov 83 p 5

[Editorial: "Enhancing Understanding"]

[Text] Lt. Gen. H. M. Ershad, the Chief Martial Law Administrator, is back home. He is the first head of the government of Bangladesh to pay an official visit to the United States. He went there to project the image of the country and to seek friendship and cooperation. This is what Bangladesh seeks from all countries and this is what gives the foreign policy of the present government the kind of significance it has been able to attain. As Gen. Ershad himself said before leaving for the U.S., Bangladesh wishes to be an equal partner in progress with the developed world. This was thus a mission to seek enhancement of good will and understanding. The objective was to tell the people in the U.S. and elsewhere how the people in Bangladesh try to face the challenge of development and how determined they all are to overcome any difficulties that might crop up. The visit has been very successful. This is evident from the warm welcome that Gen. Ershad was given in the U.S. and from the responses of the host and others to all that Gen. Ershad had said. We take this opportunity to welcome and congratulate the CMLA.

During his visit to the U.S., the CMLA had a meeting with President Reagan, and the meeting was followed by a lunch given by the President. The talks were fruitful. President Reagan took note, in a speech that followed of the efforts that are being made by Bangladesh for attaining development goals and the determination of the present government to secure the welfare of the people, Gen. Ershad explained, in his speech, the steps that have been taken to strengthen the economy, to take the government to the door-steps of the people and to ensure peaceful transition to democracy. He also spoke on the foreign policy of the government. Gen. Ershad spoke in a number of other important meetings and briefed those present about the policies pursued by his government and the success these policies have already had. The CMLA also met the Bangladeshi nationals living abroad and reminded them of the important role they must play as emissaries of the people and the contributions they must make to the development process. Gen. Ershad spoke to the leading businessmen and industrialists of the U.S. and told them of the measures that have been taken to improve the investment climate in Bangladesh. During the visit of the CMLA, an agreement was signed between Bangladesh and the U.S. Under the agreement, sixtyfive million US dollars will be provided under PL-480 and the amount will be spent for buying foodgrain and edible oil from the U.S.

The Bangladesh-U.S. relations, which are already friendly, will further improve now. Gen. Ershad has been able to project the image of the country, and what he has said as the head of the government should convince all about the

intentions of the government. As we all know, there are two main objectives of the government now—one is to secure the welfare of the people and to strengthen the development process and the other is to introduce democracy. Elections to the local bodies have been announced; so has been the Presidential election. Understanding between countries is important; understanding between the developed and the developing countries is more so. Gen. Ershad's successful visit must be seen as an important step towards enhancing that understanding.

CSO: 4600/1267

PAPER REPORTS ERSHAD 5 NOVEMBER PRESS CONFERENCE

Elections, Other Matters

Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 6 Nov 83 pp 1, 12

[Text] The presidential election will be held during the intervening period between the Upazila Parishad elections and the parliamentary elections scheduled for March '84 and March '85 respectively.

Chief Martial Law Administrator Lt. Gen. H. M. Ershad addressing a crowded Press conference on Saturday said a specific date for the presidential election would be announced after necessary consultations with the Election Commission.

General Ershad said the Martial Law would be lifted after the presidential polls. He firmly ruled out the possibility of holding a referendum before the presidential election

General Ershad discarded as "unacceptable" the Opposition demand for holding the Parliamentary elections before the presidential polls. The CMLA said if he were to context the Presidential election he would certainly float a political party but he had not given any serious thought to this question so far.

He had a word of advice for the Opposition political parties. He counselled them not to do anything that would jeopardise the process of returning to a representative form of government.

He agreed that the hartal was a success but it was more due to fear psychosis than support to the programme of the 22 political parties. The CMLA did not share the view of Begum Khaleda Zia who had said that success of hartal was a verdict against the Martial Law.

General Ershad attired in a white safari suit said he was willing to accept the verdict as a no confidence against the Government provided the hartal was observed without picketing and intimidation by the sponsors.

The CMLA conceded that his Government may have erred but the list of achievements would not be insignificant. He said the Government had displayed tolerance and restraint in the face of provocations. He said the opposition parties could have waited till his return to observe the hartal.

He was extremely critical of the elements who destroyed national wealth in the name of democracy. He said the opposition had the right to differ with him but destruction of national wealth was something utterly inconceivable to him. Destruction causes severe strain on national exchequer in a poor country like ours the CMLA said.

He said the damage caused to 10 BRTC buses would not only be difficult to replace but would also cause untold sufferings to the common people. He said those who instigated the burning of the buses would not feel the pinch because all of them ride chauffeur driven cars.

Asked to comment on the observations of the Pir Saheb of Atrashi the CMLA said no one was authorised to say any thing on his behalf. He told the journalists to talk to the Pir Sahab directly to seek his views.

He asserted that there has to be a change of attitude among the politicians so far as national politics was concerned.

Asked for his views on the proposed civil disobedience movement by Khondokar Mushtaq Ahmed the CMAL said the former President should be aware of his own political strength.

Present at the Press conference were Foreign Minister Mr A R S Doha, Finance Minister Mr. A M A Muhith Home Minister Major General Mannan Siddiky Information Minister Syed Najmuddin Hashim and senior officials.

BSS adds: Asked to comment on Indian Prime Minister's recent assertion that constructing barbed wire along Indo-Bangladesh border would not affect the bilateral relations between the two countries the CMLA said that if India went ahead with the project on the pretext of infiltration from Bangladesh it would 'definitely impair our relations with them'.

#### Remarks on Candidacy

Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 6 Nov 83 pp 1, 12

[Text] Chief Martial Law Administrator Lt. Gen. H. M. Ershad said he would be a candidate in the presidential election provided people make such a demand. Asked how he would determine the wish of the people the CMLA almost casually said he would devise a mechanism to assess the mind of the people.

Addressing a Press conference on Saturday General Ershad said there would be no dearth of candidates in the coming presidential election. This he said in response to a question of the opposition's threat to boycott the presidential election if it was held before the parliamentary election.

The CMLA refreshed the memory of the questioner about the number of candidates in the last Presidential election. He said his Government had done a good deal of work during the past 18 months and these would not go in vain. He said his Government believed in action and not in tall talks.

Asked who would be his successor as the Chief of Army Staff when he steps down for contesting the election the CMAL said it was an affair of the army and let it be confined to them.

#### Answers on Martial Law

Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 7 Nov 83 p 1

[Text] The Government on Sunday allayed some misunderstanding created by a section of Press on the CMLA's comments on Martial Law during the forthcoming polls at the Press conference in Dhaka on Saturday.

According to a PID handout issued on Sunday night, the following is the text of question and answer on the relevant issue:--

Question--My first question is about how the country's administration would run during the Presidential election. Whether it would act as per Martial Law or would Martial Law be withdrawn?

Answer--No

Question--If Martial Law exists during that time, who will continue it after that?

Answer--The main thing is that in a country where President represents the Government no administration can really run without a President and without a presidential election. Therefore, the presidential election must be held first. And only then, lifting of Martial Law could be considered.

CSO: 4600/1268

UN DELEGATE ADDRESSES UNGA POLITICAL COMMITTEE

Dhaka THE BANGLADESH TIMES in English 23 Oct 83 p 8

[Text] NEW YORK, Oct 22: Bangladesh Permanent Representative in the United Nations Lt. Gen (Retd) Khawja Wasiuddin yesterday reiterated Dhaka's total commitment to general and complete disarmament for the cause of world peace reports BSS.

In pursuance of this commitment he told the political committee of the UN General Assembly that Bangladesh had acceded to nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT).

Gen. Wasiuddin observed that unprecedented arms race further heightened with the introduction of the most sophisticated and lethal weapons had not only threatened international peace but also the very existence of mankind.

Ambassador Wasiuddin observed that world peace and security cannot be assured through the accumulation of arms. He rejected the argument that arms race ensures national security and observed that arms race on the contrary brought greater insecurity at higher costs.

The Bangladesh Permanent Representative who is leading Bangladesh delegation to current session of General Assembly in absence of the Foreign Minister said that Bangladesh was totally committed to general and complete disarmament and in pursuance of her commitment to this policy acceded to Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT).

Ambassador Wasiuddin said that his country was disappointed at the failure of the second special session of General Assembly on Disarmament.

The leader of Bangladesh delegation said that his country firmly believed that there was a close relation between disarmament and development. He suggested that resources consumed by armament race should be utilised for elimination of world poverty.

General Wasiuddin suggested that research and development of chemical weapon should be suspended. He also pleaded that the use of the outer space for military purposes should be halted and the outer space should be declared as a common heritage of mankind. Underlining the central role of Un in the field of disarmament the Bangladesh Permanent Representative urged the strengthening the UN machinery for its disarmament efforts.

# ERSHAD SENDS MESSAGE TO UN ON FOUNDING DAY

Dhaka THE BAKGLADESH OBSERVER In English 24 Oct 83 p 1

[Text] The Chief Martial Law Administrator Lt. Gen. H. M. Ershad has reaffirmed Bangladesh's total dedication to the noble ideals enshrined in the United Nations Charter reports BSS.

In a message on the occasion of the founding day of the United Nations the CMLA said that Bangladesh was firmly committed to the purposes and principles of the UN Charter and had always attached the highest importance to the work of the UN system.

'In our view the United Nations continues to be the most important forum for the enlargement of the frontiers of reason and for lessening the danger of international tension and conflict' he observed.

Gen. Ershad described the founding of the UN thirty eight years ago as a 'landmark in the history of evolution of international relations. He said 'conceived in the background of the unprecedented human suffering death and destruction of the World War II the UN Charter embodies mankind's vision of international peace security and progress.'

The CMLA recalled that since its inception the UN had played an indispensable role in preserving international peace and security and advancing the cause of decolonisation elimination of racism and racial discrimination all over the world.

Many pressing economic and social questions and issues of fundamental human rights and the need to respect the rule of law and fairplay in international relations have received world-wide focus as a result of ceaseless activities of this world body he said.

Gen. Ershad said in a world characterised by increasing political tension and economic disparity that separates nations and peoples the United Nations was called upon to play a greater role today.

Bangladesh the CMLA said firmly believed that the moral authority of the UN was the best hope for mankind to achieve its cherished objectives. 'Given

political will on the part of the member states the UN can address effectively to many of the pressing issues of our time' he added.

He said it is therefore incumbent on all of us to work towards the revitalisation of the world body.

We also join the millions all over the world in dedicating ourselves to the fulfillment of its noble objectives in making the world a better and happier place for all of us and for our future generations, he said.

CSO: 4600/1209

**DHAKA, PRC TO SET UP JOINT ECONOMIC COMMISSIONS**

**Dhaka** THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 4 Nov 83 pp 1, 12

[Text] Bangladesh and China on Thursday signed an agreement providing for setting up of a joint economic commission between the two countries and a protocol for special interest-free loan from Chinese government for construction of a bridge over the river Buriganga at Dhaka, reports Bss.

The visiting Chinese Vice-Minister for Foreign Economic Relation and Trade, Lu Xuejian, and the Secretary of the External Resources Division Mr Mofizur Rahman, signed the agreement and the protocol on behalf of their respective countries at the Planning Commission.

The agreement on joint economic commission stipulates that an inter-governmental body will be formed between the two countries to "review and delineate development of bilateral cooperation in the fields of trade, economic relation and technical cooperation in sessions to be held alternatively in Beijing and Dhaka at Ministerial or Vice-Ministerial levels.

From the Chinese side, the Ministry of Economic Relations and Trade and from the Bangladesh side the External Resources Division will serve as "executive organisations" for this agreement.

The protocol on construction of bridge stipulates provision of a special interest-free loan from Chinese government for construction of an "appropriate" highway bridge at Dhaka over the river Buriganga. For this purpose, the Government of China will despatch the needed technical personnel to Bangladesh to provide technical assistance, undertake the required survey and design work and provide material and machine for construction of bridge.

The agreement on joint economic commission, will be valid for five years and renewable for additional periods of five years unless notified to the contrary by either side.

Speaking on the occasion, the Chinese Vice-Minister said the signing of the agreement and the protocol would further strengthen economic cooperation between the two countries. He hoped that with the setting up of the joint economic commission cooperation in the field of economic relations, trade, scientific and technical cooperation would be expanded in the coming years to the mutual benefit of the two countries.

Mr. Lu declined to mention the quantum of Chinese assistance for the construction of the bridge. But he said the construction of bridge would be completed 'as quickly as possible'

The Chinese Vice-Minister said a Bangladesh government trade delegation would visit China in the middle of December when the Barrett Trade Protocol No. 7 will be signed between the two countries.

Asked to name the first venue of the joint economic commission meeting Mr Lu said the venue would be decided by Bangladesh. The volume of trade of the current year between the two countries was 100 million dollars each way the Minister said.

Since 1978, China committed approximately Taka 266 crore interest-free loan to Bangladesh. A major part of the loan was earmarked for financing import of Chinese capital equipment for Polash Urea Fertilizer Factory and Sundarban Textile Mills. Sundarban Textile Mills has since been completed and gone into production.

Polash Urea Fertilizer Factory is expected to be completed by the end of 1984. A portion of the loan was also allocated for importing needed commodities and intermediate goods from China.

Secretary of the Roads and Highway Division Mr. Khorshed Alam and the Chinese Charge d'Affaires were also present on the occasion.

Another report says:--The visiting Chinese delegation headed by Mr. Lu Xuejian Vice-Minister for Economic Relations and Trade called on Rear Admiral M. A. Khan DCMLA and Minister for Communications at his office at the Secretariat on Thursday.

The DCMLA welcomed the visit of Chinese Minister as a mission of friendship from China which will further cement the existing good relations between the people and Government of Bangladesh and that of the people and Government of China. He hoped that the signing of Buriganga Bridge Protocol and setting up of joint economic commission on economic trade and scientific and technical cooperation will further promote and develop economic relation and technical cooperation to the mutual interests of the two countries.

He also expressed Bangladesh's interest in Chinese assistance for rehabilitation of Bangladesh Railway.

Reciprocating the sentiments expressed by the DCMLA the Chinese Minister assured all possible assistance to Bangladesh in the field of technology and economic assistance as per declared policy of present Chinese Government to foster closer relationship amongst the countries of Third World and make them economically and technologically self-reliant. A Chinese technical team will visit Bangladesh this month for designing and construction of the Buriganga Bridge, he added.

CSO: 4600/1265

NEWSPAPERS GIVE DETAILS ON 1 NOVEMBER HARTAL

Government Press Note

Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 2 Nov 83 pp 1, 12

[Text] The following Press Note was issued in Dhaka on Tuesday night by the Government reports BSS.

"Some political parties gave a call for observance of a country-wide hartal on November 1 1983 in support of certain demands in clear contravention of the provisions of Martial Law. Keeping in view its declared policy of gradual restoration of democracy in the country and the election schedule already announced the Government took a tolerant view and hoped that the political parties in question would behave in a responsible manner and desist from resorting to any such activities as might jeopardise peace and tranquillity and impede the restoration of democracy and implementation of the programme for holding popular elections in the country leading to establishment of democratic Government at all levels.

In the name of hartal leaders of some political parties and hired urchins attempted to disrupt normal public life and industrial production on November 1 1983 by obstructing usual flow of traffic setting up barricades on roads and forcibly closing down shops and educational institutions at different places. They took recourse to provocative acts of violence held out threats and intimidations and damaged and set fire to public transports and offices of rival groups and tried to intervene with train communication at some places causing at some places great inconvenience to the peace-loving and law-abiding citizens of the country. At certain places they even attacked the members of the law-enforcing agencies on duty who showed utmost patience and restraint in the face of grave provocation by such unruly elements. It is pertinent to mention that stoppage of production of a day causes a loss of about Take one hundred crores The Govt. sincerely hope that leaders of political parties would realise the grave danger to the country if the present politics of confrontation is pursued at a time when the country is soundly launched on the path of overall progress in all walks of national life which has won international admiration

The Government would like to reiterate in unequivocal terms that its sincere and generous attitude should not be misconstrued by any quarters. All

concerned should refrain from any activities detrimental to peace stability and public order.

### Hartal Called 'Complete '

Dhaka THE NEW NATION in English 2 Nov 83 pp 1, 8

[Text] A complete hartal was observed yesterday in the city from 6 a m to 12 noon at the call of the 15-party and 7-party alliances.

According to reports pouring in from different parts of the country, hartal was successfully observed also in many district and sub-divisional headquarters.

The 15-party alliance and the 7-party combine had announced on October 25 their respective programmes of simultaneously observing the hartal yesterday to press into acceptance their common five-point charter of demands.

The demands include the withdrawal of Martial Law, restoration of a democratic atmosphere, including the fundamental rights of the people, holding of the parliamentary elections prior to all other elections, lifting of the ban on political activities, release of all political detainees and convicts and detection and trial of the persons responsible for the mid-February incidents.

In the metropolis vehicles were off the streets, shops and private enterprises closed and office-goers walked on foot during the six-hour hartal. All educational institutions were closed throughout the day.

During the hartal a microbus belonging to a foreign mission (Doot Kha 24-25) and one jeep belonging to the Atomic Energy Commission (Chattagram Kha 1904) were burnt down while four BRTC buses, three more jeeps and a private car belonging to the Director General of Ansars and YDP were badly damaged.

The central office of Nalon Bangla Chhatra Samaj at Elephant Road was set on fire and the office of the central coordination cell of the 18-point implementation councils ransacked.

The police took into its custody more than 120 picketers and over 50 persons were injured in various skirmishes. Among them five were hospitalized.

Police was deployed at different strategic points of the city and trucks and vans carrying policemen were patrolling the main thoroughfares. They were armed with long sticks, shields and teargas shells.

Innumerable processions, big and small, were brought out by the leaders of 15-party and 7-party alliances, the Chhatra Sangram Parishad and the student wing of the BNP (Sattar) Jatiyatabadi Chhatra Dal at the Dhaka University area, Farmgate, Nawabpur Road, Bangabandhu Avenue, Bijoy Nagar, Kakrail, Moghbazar, Azimpur, the New Market area, Shahbagh Avenue and other important parts of the city.

The musclemen of Natun Bangla Jubo Shanghati and Natun Bangla Chhatra Samaj swung into action from the midnight. They ransacked the rooms of Chhatra Sangram Parishad and Jatiyatahadi. Chhatra Dal leaders and workers of some halls at night.

A convoy of two jeeps, one pick-up van and two motor cycles carrying the stormtroopers of Jubo Sanghati which was led by the organisation's joint convener Anisuzzaman Khokan mounted a touch hartal-thwarting action in and around Dhaka University, Engineering University and Medical College Hospital.

A group of them attacked the D block and G block of the Medical College men's hostel at about 3-30 a.m. The inmates of the hostel ran away towards the Titumir Hall of Engineering University.

The musclemen then moved towards the Titumir Hall, but they were counter-chased by the students of Titumir Hall. When they were fleeing away, one of their jeeps went out of order and it was left by them on the road behind the Engineering University.

The jeep, Chattagram Kha-1904, belonged to the Bangladesh Atomic Energy Commission. The angry students who gathered from different halls set it afire.

Political leaders including Tofael Ahmed, ASM Abdur Rab, Rashed Khan Menon, Pankaj Bhattacharya, Nirmal Sen, Kazi Zafar Ahmed, Kazi Mujibur Rahman, Nurul Huda Mirza, Capt. (retd) Abdul Halim Choudhury and Zafar Imam, leading processions, all assembled at the Farmgate in the morning.

Home Minister Maj. Gen. Abdul Mannan Siddiqui passed by the Farmgate, waving at the people, in a car which escorted by police vans at around 7 a.m.

One BRTC bus Dhaka Cha-1723 carrying passengers was stopped at Farmgate at about 7-05 a.m. by the picketers who asked the passengers to get down. Then it came under brick-battling and was seriously damaged and had to be towed away by a crane at about 10-30 a.m.

The Asad Gate area warmed up when a BRTC bus Cha-1721 came under attack at about 7-20 a.m. The bus was being followed by a truck Dhaka Na-5762 carrying plainclothed members of the law enforcing agencies who jumped down from the truck and swooped on the people there wielding their long clubs. The situation was brought under control with the reinforcement of police forces.

A number of BRTC buses without passengers moved about in the Farmgate area in the early morning. But these had to leave the place in haste when the picketers raised a barricade there.

The Shahbagh Avenue area turned into most turbulent spot during the six-hour hartal. Students belonging to Chhatra Sangram Parishad and the Jatiyatahadi Chhatra Dal supporting the hartal fortified their position there.

A group of them set fire to the central office the the Naton Bangla Chhatra Samaj (NBCS) at Elephant Road at around 8 a.m. The Samaj workers who were there dispersed in haste.

Around 8-30 a.m. two jeeps carrying NBCS brigades reached Shahbagh Avenue. They swooped down on the people there indiscriminately and injured some persons including Jatiyatabadi Chhatra Dal leader Fakir Abul Kalam Azad.

But they were soon surrounded by the prototagists of the hartal brandishing rods and bamboo sticks who beat them up severely.

One critically injured NBCS worker was saved by the police while the rest took shelter in the nearby office of the Sub-Zonal Martial Law Administrator. The two jeeps one private and other of an autonomous body bore the numbers Dhaka Ga 8341 and Dhaka Ka 724.

In the meantime, the car of the Public Works Minister Maj. Gen Munim that was coming along the Mirpur Road came under a volley of brickbats near the Science Laboratory. Then it was attacked at Shahbagh Avenue and finally on the road in front of the High Court. Abdul Wahed (30), driver of the car, was hospitalised in an unconscious state.

The car belonging to Maj. Gen. (retd.) Waziullah, Director General of Ansars and VDP was also damaged. Its driver managed to escape leaving the car behind.

A police Sub-Inspector who had tried to protect the car was injured and one of his colleagues took him away from the place on a motorcycle.

The police lobbed three rounds of teargas shells at the Elephant Road intersection to disperse the mob.

At about 8-55 a.m. a jeep was seen coming from the western side of Shahbagh Avenue. The picketers stopped it near the island at the place and started hitting the jeep and its inmates, workers of the Naton Bangla Chhatra Samaj. The Samaj workers ran away towards the P.G. Hospital, but the jeep was badly damaged.

A BRTC bus Cha-2488 was completely damaged on the road in front of the Diabetic Hospital at Shahbagh Avenue in the early morning.

A number of rooms of Surya Sen Hall, Sir A. F Rahman Hall, Shahidullah Hall and S. M Hall of the DU belonging to the leaders and workers of the NBCS were ransacked during the hartal and Fire was also set to some of them.

Seventy per cent of the employees and officers of different government offices including the Secretariate reached their offices during the hartal on foot.

Some of the officials and employees had stayed overnight at the Secretariat.

At about 11-30 a.m. a procession led by the lawyers of the Supreme Court came to the Press Club. President of the Supreme Court Bar Association Shamsul

Huq Choudhury in a brief address said that "There was no Martial Law from today as the people had rejected it."

Reports of hartal throughout the country had been reaching us till midnight.

Our Narayanganj Correspondent reports: About 10 persons were injured in sporadic clashes during the hartal. Shops, markets, schools and colleges were closed till 12 noon. No vehicles plied on the roads. Attendance in government and semi-government offices was thin and transactions were not held in banks though most of them were open.

A microbus (Dhaka Chaa-3577) was damaged when it came out on the road carrying a magistrate.

In the morning O. C. of Narayanganj P.S. and three others were injured in a clash at Ukilparas between the workers of the Natun Banglad Jubo Sanghati and 22 political parties.

Later, a group of 200 people armed with stick and rods came out from the Narayanganj district Sanghati office and chased the 22-party workers on their way back home. During the clash six persons were slightly injured.

#### Chittagong

Our Chittagong Bureau reports: Two labourers of Amin Jute Mills, five policemen were injured and two vehicles including one B.R.T.C. bus and an oil tanker damaged in separate incidents.

All the educational institutions and government offices remained virtually unoperational till the end of the hartal hour. Anti hartal forces were also active which launched an attack at the Amin Jute Mills.

All sorts of vehicles remained off the roads but the first Biman flight reached Chittagong with sixteen passengers.

#### Comilla

Our Comilla Correspondent reports peaceful hartal was observed in the district. A mass rally was held at the Kandirpar junction which was addressed among others by Mr. Abul Kalam Majumder, General Secretary of AL (H) Comilla town and Mrs. Rabeya Chowdhury of B.N.P.(S)

#### Bhola

Our Bhola Correspondent reports: Hartal was observed through out the district including Char Fashion, Lalmohan and Borhanuddin upazillas.

#### Tangail

Hartal was observed peacefully in the district with no untoward incidents. The government offices functioned normally but all other offices and educational institutions remained closed.

## **Rangpur**

Our Rangpur Coorespondent reports on peaceful hartal in the district. Attendance in the government offices and other public places were abnormally thin.

## **Pabna**

Our Pabna Correspondent adds that hartal was observed peacefully all over the district. Educational institutions, private offices and markets were closed.

## **Rajshahi**

Our Rajshahi Correspondent says 17 students and twelve policemen including the S.P. and Additional S.P. were hurt in clashes at the Kazla police out-post adjoining the university. Later police resorted to lathi charge and firing tear gas shells and arrested one university student.

## **Faridpur**

Five persons were injured in a clash between the pro and anti hartal groups. The J.S.D. office was ransacked.

## **Netrokona**

Our Netrokona Correspondent reports that hartal was observed peacefully in the district. Shops and business centres remained closed.

## **Khulna**

Our Khulna Correspondent reports of sporadic clashes and explosion of crackers in the city. A group of persons armed with hocky sticks and ramdaos tried to break the hartal but finally they fled away.

## **Natore**

Vehicles kept off the road and shops and offices including the court remained closed during the hartal hours, reports our Correspondent.

## **Nilphamari**

All shops including drug stores were closed and no vehicles plied on the roads during the hartal hours.

## **Jessore**

Our correspondent adds reports: Fifty persons were injured and eight arrested when police resorted to lathi charge to disperse a crowd of processionists near Chitra Cinema Hall here during the hartal.

The arrested persons include former Parliament Member Tabibur Rahman and District Awami League (H) President, Mohsin Ali, President of District AL (Mizan) and Zulfiquar Ali Salam of Biplobi Chhatra Maitri. All of them were also seriously injured during the lathi charge. During the hartal no vehicles plied on the roads. Attendance in offices and banks was thin and normal functioning was disrupted. Shops and other trading centres, schools and colleges remained closed upto 12 noon.

#### Speech by Ershad Deputy

Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 3 Nov 83 pp 1, 12

[Text] The Deputy Chief Martial Law Administrator and Minister for Communications Rear Admiral M. A. Khan said in Dhaka on Wednesday that appropriate measures would be taken against acts of indiscipline and destruction of public property in the name of so-called democracy reports BSS.

He noted that strict action of the Government to save national wealth in future enjoyed the full support of the people.

The DCMLA was talking to Chairmen of 56 wards of Dhaka Municipal Corporation in the city. The Administrator of Dhaka Municipal Corporation, Major-General Mahmudul Hasan was also present on the occasion.

Rear Admiral Khan praised the Chairmen of wards for demonstrating restraints and tolerance in the face of provocations on Tuesday. All sections of people of Dhaka, he said, had now clearly realised how the political parties understood democracy and how they wanted to impose their 'dream' of democracy by force.

In this connection he pointed out that the present Government had drawn up a well-considered effective and popular programme with the support of the people of this country. The nation was now pressing ahead on the road to peace, discipline and prosperity through the 18-point programme of this Government. This programme had also been acclaimed abroad he said.

Rear Admiral Khan expressed his firm belief that no provocative acts could resist the people from implementing this programme. He asked the Chairmen to accelerate the implementation of development activities in their respective areas.

The Chairmen of various wards of Dhaka Municipal Corporation expressed their concern at the destruction of public and private transports arson and acts of chaos by a few political organisations in the name of hartal on Tuesday. They said that at a time when the Government was moving ahead fast through the constructive process of establishing democracy these political organisations had become active to subvert democracy raising the bogey of it.

They pointed out that the leaders of a few political parties forced the shops to close down and traffic off the street openly with the help of hired

'goondas' and urchins of bustees. At some places they launched attacks with brickbats. These elements indulged in destructive work particularly at Farm Gate Bijoy Nagar and Topkhana areas.

The ward Chairmen further said that they refrained from applying force in accordance with the principle of restraints and tolerance of the Government. It would go beyond their tolerance if such destructive acts were enacted in future they warned.

Later, the DCMLA went to Motijheel B.R.T.C. bus depot and visited the wounded bus drivers. Expressing his sympathy to them Rear Admiral Khan said that barbaric and uncalled for attack was launched on them when they were engaged in the service of the people.

He regretted that this attack took place at the "open and unbelievable provocation" of some so-called leading political leaders. He announced financial compensation to the wounded drivers.

When the DCMLA visited the central office of 18-Point Implementation Committee he was informed that this office was ransacked and its furniture was burnt down at the instigation of certain political leaders. He regretted that those who professed democracy and claimed themselves as symbol of democracy were intolerant to the opinions of others. This had demonstrated that they did not believe in true democracy.

The DCMLA said that 18-point programme was a national programme. It was only charter for the improvement of socio-economic condition of the masses. It could not be foiled by the machination of a handful of persons, he stressed.

He laid stress on maintaining peace and discipline in the country and called for becoming conscious of the right of freedom of expression of all sections of people.

#### Press Note Contested

Dhaka THE BANGLADESH TIMES in English 3 Nov 83 p 1

[Text] The 15-party alliance in a statement to the Press on Wednesday said that the Press Note issued by the Government on November 1 hartal was not true.

It said that the people throughout the country had observed an "unprecedented peaceful hartal". The members of so-called merenary organisations had been trying to foil the observance of peaceful hartal. On the hartal day ignoring the public opinion, they had attempted similar moves of the alliance, the statement said.

It said that some leaders workers and students were assaulted by the members of the law enforcing agencies at Rajshahi and Jessore. It condemned

these incidents. The alliance demanded release of the persons arrested on the ha. cal day.

The alliance observed that it would not be beneficial to blame the political parties without initiating any realistic attempt to normalise the situation by fulfilling five-point demands.

CSO: 4600/1263

SEVEN-PARTY ALLIANCE HOLDS 1 NOVEMBER MEETING

Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 2 Nov 83 pp 1, 12

[Text] The seven-party alliance meeting was held at its [name indistinct] Market office premises with Senior Vice Chairman of BNP Begum Khaleda Zia in the chair.

The meeting was addressed by General Secretary of Krishak Sramik Party Mr. Golan Rabbani, Joint Secretary General of BNP Mr. Julmat Ali Khan, Secretary of Biplobi Communist League Mr. Tipu Biswas, Vice Chairman of BNP and former Prime Minister Shah Azizur Rahman President of NAP (NURU) Mr. Nurur Rahman Chairman of Ganotantrik Party Mr. Nurul Huda Nirza, BNP leader Begum Taslima Abed Bangladesh Jatiya League chief Mr. Ataur Rahman Khan and United Peoples Party chief Kazi Zafar Ahmed.

Begum Khaleda Zia acclaimed the success of the hartal which she said was indicative of the people's verdict favoring restoration of democracy. Calling upon the Government to fulfil their five point demands Begum Zia said that the people alone should decide the future of the country. That is only possible through an elected Parliament, she added. She also called upon all to celebrate November 7 the National Revolution and Solidarity Day, in a befitting manner.

Shah Azizur Rahman said that the people of the country had always elected the government of their choice in several national elections held in the country during the last few years and are capable of electing another government.

Shah Azizur Rahman said that nowhere in the constitution it is written that the presidential election should precede the parliamentary elections. The Parliament alone is empowered to bring any constitutional change he added.

Mr. Ataur Rahman Khan, dwelling on the existing crisis in the country said that holding of parliamentary elections was the only possible way out of it and restoration of democracy was the prerequisite.

Kazi Zafar Ahmed lauded the role of the journalists in discharging their professional duties despite heavy odds and said that the alliance would render its total support to the community.

BSS adds, Begum Zia said that the Martial Law Government had failed to keep their promise. Asking the Government to hold elections she said 'We will always accept peoples verdict' She also asked the Government to accept the five-point demand of the alliance otherwise she said 'We will announce our new course of action We will be forced to launch a strong movement' she added.

Begum Khaleda Zia said henceforth they will hold meetings in open places and not indoors. Meeting would be now held in streets, she maintained.

CSO: 4600/1264

# SAMYABADI DAL COUNCIL MEETS, EXPELS TOAHA

Dhaka THE NEW NATION in English 24 Oct 83 pp 1, 8

[Text] Mohammad Toaha and Asaddar Ali of Bangladesher Samyabadi Dal (M-L) were expelled from the party last Saturday.

The action was taken in the requisition council of the party that concluded at Dhairab Saturday midnight.

The sponsors of the requisition council brought a host of charges against Mohammad Toaha, chairman of the party. The charges include misappropriation of party fund and party press, moral degeneration, ideological deviation, lowering of party image, definance of party discipline and anti-party activities.

The council meet of the party abolished the positions of chairman and vice chairmen and did away with the Politburo.

Under the new arrangement the party will be steered by the secretary general and a secretariat. Prof Yakub Ali has been secretary general of the party while a nine member central committee has been reconstituted comprising Santi Sen, Alauddin Ahmed, Murunnabi Chowdhury, Saiful Islam, advocate Lutfar Rahman, Insar Ali, Abdul Motaleb and Abed Hossain.

A series of resolutions on different national issues were adopted in the requisition council.

One resolution demanded immediate withdrawal of martial law, restoration of democracy and holding of parliamentary election before polls to local bodies.

The party called upon the government to declare the flood-hit areas as distressed areas and to arrange relief and rehabilitation for these areas on emergency basis. It also demanded to exempt the peasants from payment of all loans taken by them earlier.

The council in one resolution made a demand for development of national capital and putting an end to haroassment of the workers in different industries and meeting all what is payable to them.

The other resolutions relate to the education policy, mid-February incident, eradication of corruption from the educational institutions, repeal of unequal treaties including Indo-Bangladesh Friendship Treaty, Indian aggressive thrusts on Talpatti, Tinbigha crippling of Bangladesh's economy through erection of barrages in different rivers including Farakka and barbed wire fencing along the Indo-Bangladesh border.

The party urged the authorities to take the issues to international forums including the UN.

It called upon the people to build up a movement to root out corruption from all spheres of administration and to press a demand for confiscation of all property acquired forcibly and illegally during the present and nrstwhile governments.

The council issued a call for mobilization of honest political workers under a single national banner through unification of the patriotic forces.

CSO: 4600/1211

## MOHAMMAD TOAHA WELCOMES INDIAN BORDER PLANS

Dhaka THE NEW NATION in English 24 Oct 83 pp 1, 8

[Text] NARAYANGAUJ, October 23: Mr Mohammad Toaha, Chairman of Samyabadi Dal and a leader of the 16-party alliance, yesterday welcomed the decision of the Indian government to erect barbed wire fencing along the border.

He was addressing a workers meeting of the 16-Party Alliance at the local municipal auditorium.

Mr Toaha said that India was erecting the barbed wire fencing on her own territory, which he compared with the Great Wall of China.

Defending the Indian decision he said that this measure would stop the free movement of smugglers between the two neighbouring countries.

The present government was not taking any move seriously to settle the vital issues like Farakka and sharing of waters of the 16 rivers and streams flowing through both the countries, he said.

Presided over by President of Narayangauj district Awami League (Hasina) Mr Ali Ahmed Chunka, the meeting was also addressed by Prof Mozaffar Ahmed of NAP, Sheikh Abdul Aziz of AL(H), Muzahidul Islam Selim of CPE, Haider Akbar Khan Rane of Workers Party, Dilip Barua of Samyabadi Dal (Nagen), Pankaj Bhattacharya of NAP (Harun), Sudhir Kumar Hazra of NAP (H), Shekhar Das Gupta of BSD and others.

Prof Mozaffar in his speech stressed the need of united effort to achieve the goal of the movement launched by the alliance.

All of the speakers called upon the party workers and the people to make the Nov 1 programme a success with a view to realising the 5-point demand of the alliance.

CSO: 4600/1211

TOAHA, ABBAS MARXIST-LENINISTS TO REUNITE

Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 4 Nov 83 p 12

[Text] The two factions of the Bangladesher Samyabadi Dal (M-L) led by Mr. Mohammed Toaha and Khondakar Ali Abbas respectively have decided to reunite. The unity congress of the two factions will be held sometime in December this year. The two factions of the Bangladesher Samyabadi Dal (M-L) separated in 1977 following differences of opinion on tactical questions.

Addressing a joint Press conference at the central office of the party the leaders of the two factions Mr. Mohammed Toaha and Khondakar Ali Abbas said that the decision of re-unification was taken with the objective of forging strong unity of all Marxist and Leninist parties to help change the obsolete social system and accelerate the pace of democratic movement in the country.

Both the factions of the Bangladesher Samyabadi Dal are the constituents of the 15-party alliance, Mr. Mohammed Toaha and Khondakar Ali Abbas said that though there were differences among the parties that constituted 15-party alliance They have identity of views on five-point programme They pleaded for forging a unity of the 15-party and 7-party alliances to fight for the common five-point demand.

Replying to a question Mr. Toaha said that he condemned all sorts of aggression he said he condemned Soviet aggression in Afghanistan as well as U.S. aggression in Grenada.

Speaking on the barbed wire fencing which India had planned to erect along the Indo-Bangladesh border Mr. Toaha said that there were more important issues like Talpatti sharing of Ganges water, Dahagram and Angarpota enclaves between the two countries He categorically denied that the report of Bangladeshis entry to Indian territory specially Assam was far from the truth. He said that the better social and economic conditions were prevailing in Bangladesh than India.

CSO: 4600/1265

# RAZZAK AWAMI LEAGUE FACTION CHOOSES NEW LEADERS

Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 25 Oct 83 pp 1, 12

[Text] The special council of the Awami League (Razzak) faction formed a 125-member organisation committee with Mr. Mohiuddin Ahmed as Chairman and Mr. Abdur Razzak as General Secretary of Bangladesh Krishak Samik Awami League (BAKSAL).

The members of the organising committee are: Abdul Momin Talukdar, Abdur Rahim, Lutfar Rahman, Roushan Ali, Lutfar Rahman, Roushan Ali, Fazlul Karim, Abdullah Al-Maroon, A. B. M. Taleb Ali Col (Rtd) Shaukat Ali, Sardar Amjad Hussain, Syed Ahmed, S. M. Yusuf, Shafiqul Aziz Mukul Yahya Choudhury Pinto Mazharul Islam, Debendra Nath Ghosh, Hemayetuddin Ahmed, Reazuddin Ahmed, Prof. Abu Sayeed, Syed Rezaur Rahman Rashed Musharaff Abdul Monayem Sarker, Flt. Sgt (Rtd) Fazlul Huq, Kamrul Islam Rais Advocate Azizul Huq, Selim, Advocate Abdul Hadi; Dabiruddin Ahmed, Hashimuddin Haider Pahari, advocate Enayetpur Khan Ekhlisuddin Ahmed Abdul Latif Siddiqui, Sirajul Huq Miah, Abu Saleh, Advocate Khan Sultan, Dr. Mir Abul Khayer, Principal Sayedur Rahman Shamsul Alam Dudu, Syed Wahidul Islam, Kazi Khalilur Rahman, Kayezuddin Ahmed, Salimullah Khan, Advocate Gazi Rahman, Prof. Mohammed Shahidullah S. M. Jamaluddin, Advocate Mosharraf Hussain, Dr. Sheikh Haider Ali, Shaukat Ali Ukil, Khatibur Rahman, Advocate Shamsuzzoha Principal Abdur Rouf, Amir Hussain Bulu, Delovar Hussain, Amir Hussain, Khandaker Abdul Aziz, Abdur Razzak Bhuiyan, Roy Ramesh Chandra Dewan Golan Kibria Choudhury, Shah Alam, Abdul Madud.

Fifteen other members were coopted to the organising committee on Monday. The members are: S. K. Huda, A. K. M. Abdul Manna, Azizul Huq, Mrs. Mohibur Rahman (U.K.) Haji Golan Kibria, Laisuzzaman, Sheikh Shahidul Islam, Golan Rahman, Fazlul Kader Naznu, Mrs. Montax Begum, Mrs. Mahmuda Choudhury Mrs. Roushan Ana Mustafiz, Dekara Haroon, Mr. Saiful Islam and Fakir Abdur Razzak.

CSO: 4600/1212

# SHEIKH HASINA SCORES ACTIONS OF RAZZAK GROUP

Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 25 Oct 83 pp 1, 12

[Text] MYMENSINGH, Oct. 24:--Sheikh Hasina, President of the Bangladesh Awami League said here today that some interested political elements were out to derive benefit from the concept of BAKSAL as propounded by her late father Bangabandhu Sheikh Mujibur Rahman. These elements have, in fact, deviated from fundamental objective on which BAKSAL was formed in 1975, she said.

Addressing a workers rally in the afternoon at S. Huq Auditorium here she is referenc to formation of BAKSAL by the Razzak faction of her party, said that such an act was designed to bluff the people and party. Sheikh Hasina added that the main objective of BAKSAL launched by her father was to achieve a change in the socio economic condition of the country and national unity, AL(H) chief said that her party also accepted the socio economic programme of BAKSAL with oblique reference to remarks by Mr. Muzattar Ahmed, President of National Awami Party (Muzaffar) at the inaugural session of council session of Razzak faction of Awami League Sheikh Hasina said that she was not only the daughter of late Sheikh Mujibur Rahman but also a followers of his ideals. Awami League (H) chief said that her father lost his life for his ideals and she was ready to lay down her life for the same cause.

Mr. Rafiquddin Ahmed Bhuiyan, President of the Mymensingh district branch of the party presided over the rally. It was addressed by central leaders Mr. Abdul Mannan, Mr. M. Urban Ali, Mr. Amir Hussain Amu, Mr. Mohammad Nasim, Mr. Obaidul Kader, former President of Chinatra League.

Elaborating the objectives of BAKSAL launched by her father Sheikh Hasina further said that the administrative decentralisation proposed under BAKSAL programme was for establishing "real democracy" in the country. She criticised the present decentralisation of administration and observed that it was aimed at creating a power base in rural areas, to prepare ground for election in future.

She observed that the nation was facing economic crisis due to political instability.

She travelled from Dhaka to Mymensingh by train. On way to Mymensingh Sheikh Hasina addressed a number of gatherings at the railway stations where the

train stopped. At all the gatherings she urged the party workers to struggle to achieve rights.

Mr. Abdul Mannan criticised the restriction on open political activities in the country now. He said that all political parties demanded restoration of basic rights and right to vote. These demands have become a national demand, he remarked. But government was reluctant to accept these demands he said. He added that the present crisis faced by the country can only be solved by an elected government.

Mr. M. Korban Ali said that they would contribute their struggle till rights were achieved. He observed that they were ready to join in politics with Lt. General Ershad if he comes out of the Army. On her arrival at Mymensingh railway station she was accorded a reception by several thousand supporters.

CSO: 4600/1212

# OFFICIAL TELLS AGENDA OF ISLAMIC FOREIGN MINISTERS

Dhaka THE BANGLADESH TIMES in English 1 Nov 83 pp 1, 8

[Text] The forthcoming 14th Islamic Conference of Foreign Minister (ICFM) scheduled begin in Dhaka early December will focus on situation in Middle East particularly Lebanon and Palestine, Mr Arshaduzzaman, Assistant Secretary General said in Dhaka on Monday.

Talking to the Times, Mr Arshaduzzaman said that the ICFM would be very significant and important as this would be held about five weeks before the Islamic summit.

The conference will also discuss other political issues facing the Muslim world. This included Namibia and Sahel.

Mr Arshaduzzaman said that the OIC generally takes collective stand on issues facing the Muslim world.

On economic from the ICFM which will have a large number of issues will review among others the world economic situation with particular reference to situation in Islamic countries. It will also discuss economic difficulties faced by least developed countries and the conditions in the landlocked countries.

The OIC ASG said the economic programmes would be reviewed with the framework of action plan adopted at the third Islamic summit in Taif.

One of the important decisions is expected to approval to the formation of Islamic Shipowners Association with its headquarters at Jeddah which will launch the Islamic ship-pine lines to benefit of the member states.

He said the requirement of ratification by atleast ten states had been met giving green signals to set up the organisation. The member states will pool their resources to help transportation of the exportable.

The Economic Cultural Commission of OIC which met recently in Jeddah also review the proposal along with other economic issues he said.

The Commission also examined various proposals and recommendations by the members states on Islamic insurance and reinsurance proposed by Bangladesh.

After study and analysis it noted with satisfaction that the proposal did not conflict with tre'Shariat. However the proposal might be examined by other insurance experts

The progress in the work he said is satisfactory.

#### Arshaduzzaman in City

BSS adds: Assistant Secretary-General of the Organisation of Islamic Conference Mr. Arshaduzzaman arrived in Dhaka on Monday to attend the meeting of Board of Directors of Islamic Centre for Technical and Vocational Training and Research beginning on November 5.

Mr. Zaman also attended a session of the conference of senior administrator and technical teachers of the member countries of OIC now being held in Dhaka for preparing the course for the Centre.

Besides attending the conference Mr. Zaman will also discuss progress of work for holding the 14th conference of Foreign Ministers of OIC (ICFM).

CSO: 4600/1262

UN DELEGATE SPEAKS ON FOOD SECURITY

Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 2 Nov 83 p 1

[Text] NEW YORK, Nov. 1:--Bangladesh has called for undertaking a concerted and well organised international effort to increase, at an accelerated pace food production capabilities of the developing countries and to intensify the efforts to establish a credible food security system both on regional and global basis, reports BSS.

This was stated by Ambassador Farooq Sobhan, who was speaking on Monday on behalf of the Bangladesh delegation before the second committee of the UN General Assembly at its 38th session on development and international economic cooperation.

Mr. Sobhan also expressed the view that it is not sufficient to have adequate supply at the global level without ensuring that countries and peoples needing foodgrains have also adequate purchasing power and the capability to import the foodgrains.

Lamenting the fact that official commitment of external assistance to agriculture has declined by as much as one tenth in current prices in recent years over the level reached during mid 1970s, Ambassador Sobhan stated that in order to avert future catastrophies in the developing countries, additional international support must be forthcoming in this sector to supplement the efforts of the developing countries for enhancing their capabilities in the food production and Agriculture Sector.

Ambassador Sobhan said that economic development in the developing countries and multilateral cooperation continued to be victims of the present global recession. In the field of industrialisation, the efforts of the developing countries themselves have faced serious constraints in recent years under the situation of severe economic recession, which has been further aggravated by an insufficient flow of resources and the growing protectionist barriers. He expressed the hope that the conversion of the United Nations Industrial Development Organisation (UNIDO) into a specialised agency in the near future will generate additional support for promotion of industrialisation in the developing countries. In this regard, he offered a number of concrete suggestions.

CSO: 4600/1264

MINISTER SPEAKS AT COMMONWEALTH AGRICULTURE MEET

Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 5 Nov 83 pp 1, 12

[Text] ROME, Nov. 4.--Bangladesh today called for reappraisal of the aid policy of the developed countries for increased investment in agriculture of the needy countries, reports BSS.

Speaking at the Commonwealth Agriculture Minister's conference Agriculture Minister Obaidullah Khan also called for creation of conditions for greater collaboration between Commonwealth Countries in the areas of agricultural research, information and exchange of scientists for mutual benefit.

The developing countries except the oil producing ones, realise that increasing domestic production was perhaps the only option for providing its people access to food the most primary among the basic human needs.

The Agriculture Minister said that the developing countries, and particularly the LDCs confronted the problems of investment, technological and structural limitations.

The ever increasing cost of modern agricultural inputs further aggravated the situation, he said.

In Bangladesh, he said the present Government was trying to deal with the structural issues.

Reforms were being legislated he added to guarantee adequate returns from investment by the share croppers, the small and marginal farmers who preponderate the farming scene

He expressed the belief that no real breakthrough in food production of lasting nature could come without augmenting the income potential of the share croppers the small and the marginal farmers.

By effecting structural adjustment, he said the potential for absorption of higher rates of investment would increase in the agriculture sector.

CSO: 4600/1267

# STATISTICS ON INTERNAL PROCUREMENT OF FOODGRAIN GIVEN

Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 24 Oct 83 pp 1, 8

[Text] The total internal procurement of rice totalled 59,623 metric tons till the second week of the current month.

The internal procurement of foodgrains which is otherwise known as 'price support policy' is basically aimed at ensuring fair price to growers and creation of buffer stock.

Of the total procurement IERI/Boro accounted for 48,473 metric tons of rice; Aus accounted for 10,861 metric tons and wheat a accounted for only 239 metric tons.

The Government had earlier fixed a notional target for procuring seven lakh metric tons of foodgrains in terms of rice during the current fiscal year. The procurement price has also been enhanced to boost the voluntary sale of foodgrains to the Government. In the enhanced pricing structure announced by the Government, the price of paddy has been fixed at Taka 144 each maund against Taka 144 each maund against Taka 135 offered during the last fiscal year, rice at Taka 225 each maund against Taka 210 during last year and wheat at Taka 144 each maund against Taka 135 during the last fiscal year.

A Ministry of Food source said that the procurement during the current fiscal year would be higher than that of the last year due to an estimated better harvest and a more incentive pricing structure.

It may be recalled that during the last few years the highest internal procurement was recorded in 1990-81 when the quantity stood at 10.15 lakh metric tons including 8.46 lakh metric tons of rice and the rest wheat. The total procurement during the last fiscal year stood at two lakh metric tons only against the target of 2.50 lakh metric tons.

Meanwhile, the damage of foodgrains due to the recent flood has not yet been estimated. But despite the quantum of damage the Government is expecting the deficit at year-end to be not more than 16 lakh metric tons. This deficit will be met from the buffer stock created out of internal procurement and external food aid.

According to unofficial sources, the quantum of foodgrains production damaged in the recent flood is likely to exceed one lakh metric ton.

During the first two months of the current fiscal year (July and August) a total of 167,842 metric tons of wheat valued at 38,163 million US dollars have been disbursed against external food aid commitment in the form of grant. The loan portion of the food aid however, remained unutilised as no foodgrains had to be imported to the country.

But recently the Government is procuring 50 thousand metric tons of rice from abroad against cash payment in order to repay the commodity loan taken from India in 1981. The loan was extended by India in the form of rice to meet the emergency situation arising from a poor harvest during the period under review. Though much of the loan had been repaid during the last year in the form of rice, the outstanding quantity has to be repaid by the turn of the current year due to expiry of the grace period, according to a Food Ministry source.

CSO: 4600/1209

RECORD FOOD-FOR-WORK PROGRAM BEGINS 7 NOVEMBER

Dhaka THE BANGLADESH TIMES in English 7 Nov 83 pp 1, 8

[Text] The dry season Food-for-Work Programme (FWP) for 1983-84 begins today (Monday) throughout the country with an all time high resource allocation worth Taka 224 crore, official sources said in Dhaka on Sunday, reports BSS.

The programme, which is expected to generate 110 million man-days would provide seasonal employment to about 2.5 million people in rural Bangladesh. About 7,500 projects will be implemented under the current years FWP programme that include earth work schemes as well as construction of bridges, culverts and sluice gates.

Earth work will start today (Monday) at all places subject to local condition (water logging and the like), while the construction of bridges and culverts will begin on or after December 15 official sources said, necessary instructions have already been issued.

Compared to last year's spending of 3.79 lakh tons of wheat, over four lakh tons of wheat will be used for current year's earth work of the programme Taka 20 crore has been allocated for the current season to implement 2,500 projects of bridges and culvert, while only Taka two crore was used last year in this field to complete 147 projects of culverts and bridges taken as pilot scheme.

Describing the current year's FWP as a gigantic operation, Food Minister Air Vice Marshal (Retd.) A. G. Mahmud said in Dhaka on Sunday if implemented properly, it will turn out to be the largest annual programme of this type both resourcewise and projectwise.

He appealed to the people to take active participation in the implementation of the FWP which is aimed at building a viable rural infrastructure for expediting development activities.

The FWP, which will cover all rural upazila thanas, will be supervised by Relief and Rehabilitation Division of the Food Ministry. The World Food Programme, the USAID and bilateral donors like U.K., Canada and Australia are contributing wheat to the current year's FWP.

Incidentally FWP was the largest international and bilateral co-operation in Bangladesh for the development of rural infrastructure. The Government is providing cash and wheat from its own account to implement the programme.

Meanwhile, 50 per cent wheat earmarked for projects have reached the site, the sources said. Carrying cost for wheat and contingency fund for Project Implementation Committee has also been disbursed, the sources added. Cut-off date for FWP is May 31 next year.

The Food-for-Work Programme, which began in 1974-75 following flood and drought, has undergone conceptual and structural changes over the year, the Food Minister said. Till now under this programme, over 22 lakh tons wheat was spent to construct/repair over 22 thousand miles of kutchha road and excavation embankment of over 39 thousand miles that created over 594 million man-days of work.

Besides normal earth work and other works of FWP, round the year maintenance programme which was initiated last year in six unions as a pilot project, has been extended to 529 unions during the current financial year. The sources said this programme in 1984-85 will cover over 4,000 union, providing year round employment to nearly 60,000 people.

Besides the normal dry season Food-for-Work Programme & additional amount of 6;35\*000 maunds of wheat has been allocated in the upazila/thanas affected by recent flood to carry out special FWP the sources said. Like last year projects have been prepared at the lower and all precautionary measures have been taken to make the programme successful the sources added.

The Government has placed fund in advance at the appropriate quarter for payment to the project implementation committee as carrying cost at the time of receiving wheat for particular schemes. The carrying costs have been increased at the rates of Taka 3.5 per maund upto to five miles Taka 4.5 per maund above five miles and upto [number indistinct] miles and Taka 5.5 above 12 miles.

Last year Taka 3.13 crore was given as carrying charge and Taka 84 lakh was used as contingency expenditure. These were introduced last year for smooth functioning of the FWP.

Under FWP wages remuneration of the workers have also been fixed. For 100 cft of earth work of kuchha road or embankment male workers will receive 50 seers of wheat while women will get 70 seers. In the case of excavation reexcavation of rivers and canals for equal amount of work male workers will receive 55 seers of wheat and women will get 75 seers of wheat. In excavating ponds male and female workers will receive 69 seers and 80 seers of wheat respectively per 1000 cft of earth work. In all types of work the sarwar and supervisor will receive two and a half seers and half seer of wheat respectively per 1000 cft of earth work.

CSO: 4600/1269

# INDIAN SHIPS 'RACKETEER' IN BANGLADESH WATERS

Dhaka THE NEW NATION in English 25 Oct 83 pp 1, 8

[Article by Hassan Abul Quasem]

[Text] AZMIRGANJ (Sylhet) Oct 24: The Indian vessels are learnt to be engaged in currency racketeering and illegal commodity exchange in the Bangladesh territorial water zone during the monsoon voyage from Calcutta to Karimganj.

The vessels usually enter Bangladesh territory at Raimangal of Khulna and move towards Zakiganj of Sylhet for Assam under the bilateral transit arrangement with Bangladesh. The vessels travel at least eight times in both way traffic during monsoon season and make halts at Bhairab, Azmiriganj, Sherpur, Markuli and other places during its trip through Meghna and Kushiara rivers.

The Indian vessels also pick up people from different vantage points in the long river routes to have the clear idea about the places and the direction of the rivers.

In course of the voyage the insiders of the vessels visit some identified people of different localities who were engaged in currency racket spearheaded by the Indian Marwaries. In its recent journey from Calcutta, one of the Indian vessels styled "Chaibassa" on its way to Karimganj made an abrupt halt at Azmiriganj. The local people observe the design of the vessel was currency racketeering. According to them, the administration have no knowledge about the materials that are being carried by the vessels. They also believe the vessels are being used for carrying the military hardwares from Calcutta to Assam.

The local police stations and the river police, however, have no knowledge regarding the carrying of military hardwares. The Azmiriganj police station is not even aware of the trips of such ships into the Bangladesh territory and the transit protocol between the two countries. The river police in and around Azmiriganj equally share the ignorance about the transit arrangement with India.

The Indian vessels, flying atop its national flag, do not allow any individual of the law enforcing agencies check those even for traffic formalities, according to the local authorities. It is gathered from the high level government

officials that the vessels usually do not have to undergo such formalities at entry point but where they have to the officials were not sure whether the concerned authorities strictly enforce the rules upon the vessels.

A government spokesman told this correspondent that neither Customs nor police have any checkpost at the border entry point. There is no check post of Bangladesh Water Transport Authority as well.

But the government has a pilot house at Sheikhbaria far away from border into the Bangladesh territorial water zone to check the vessels.

When the government spokesman was asked whether they have any knowledge about the currency racket and carrying of military hardwares, he expressed his ignorance. Replying to another question, he said that the one year transit protocol between Bangladesh and India expired on October 3 last but the protocol was extended for another two months and will end on December 3 this year. According to the knowledgeable circle, the vessels have been on the route since the British colonial era. These vessels were then used for carrying passengers and goods to Calcutta and Assam. Even in pre-Bangladesh period the vessels on this route used to exchange certain Indian goods such as saree, lunghee and other cotton products with some local items.

The underhand exchange of commodities was intensified soon after the liberation of Bangladesh, but local people say it has been declining gradually. When this correspondent tried to contact the vessel at its brief stop-over at Azmiriganj, the vessel hastily started its voyage at the first chance.

CSO: 4609/1213

# SOURCES REPORTED ON CONTENT OF TISTA TALKS

Dhaka THE NEW KATTON in English 23 Oct 83 p 1

[Text] The Secretary level Bangladesh-India talks ended here yesterday without accomplishing the task of preparing the agreement document for sharing the Teesta waters, reports BSS.

The two sides, a press release issued at the end of the three-day talks said, decided to meet again in New Delhi in November at a mutually convenient date.

The meeting sources indicated that some of the issues remained to be patched up and expressed the hope that the two sides would be able to prepare the agreement document in the next meeting.

The mandated 90 days' time given to the secretary level Teesta committee of the Indo-Bangladesh Joint Rivers Commission to prepare the agreement document is over.

The task with the time frame was given to the committee when it was set up in July by the ministerial level JRC.

The JRC sources indicated that the ministerial level JRC would extend the time so that the committee could accomplish its task.

Officially the two sides maintained strict silence and refused to make any comment on the progress of the talks.

The ministerial level JRC at its last meeting held here in July had reached the agreement to share the Teesta waters allocating 30 per cent of the waters to India, 36 per cent to Bangladesh and keeping the remaining 25 per cent unallocated.

The additional Irrigation Secretary, Syed Shanin Ahsan led the Bangladesh team at the talks while the Indian side was led by its Irrigation Secretary, Mr M. G. Padhye.

The press release said that the two sides held plenary session and several round of meetings at technical as well as informal discussions between the two delegation leaders.

The meetings it added, were held in an atmosphere of cordiality, friendship and complete understanding.

It added that the two irrigation secretaries met here from October 20 to 22 to continue discussion regarding finalisation of a document for the already agreed adhoc sharing formula of Teesta flows and to work out the modalities of the sharing arrangements, following up their meeting in New Delhi held last month.

CSO: 4600/1208

## HINDU ANALYST WRITES ON SINO-INDIAN TALKS

## Opening Session, Plans

Madras THE HINDU in English 25 Oct 63 p 1

[Article by G. K. Reddy]

[Text]

NEW DELHI, Oct. 24

At the fourth round of the Sino-Indian border talks which opened in Delhi today in a relatively relaxed atmosphere, the two sides seemed to be edging forward, even if it was only at a snail's pace, from the stage of talking primarily in terms of basic principles and working propositions to the more practical domain of discussing a mutually agreeable basis for a detailed examination of each other's contentions.

This was being regarded as progress, indeed, from the frustrating experiences of the previous three rounds, which got badly bogged down over the modalities for even preliminary exchanges, if progression had to be measured in this semantic fashion.

For, even the slightest hint of China's readiness to relent from its earlier refusal to engage in a sector wise consideration of the territorial aspects of the dispute, except in the clearly understood context of its package offer for a comprehensive settlement based on the present de facto position, had come to be regarded by India as a marked advance from its initial refusal to countenance such a discussion.

**Constructive**

After the leader of the Indian delegation, Mr. K. S. Bajpai, made a brief speech at the opening plenary session extending a warm welcome to the Chinese guests, it was the turn of the Chinese Vice Foreign Minister, Mr. Gong Dafa, to make his preliminary observations setting the tone for these exchanges. The reply of Mr. Bajpai was also worded carefully to reflect India's constructive approach to these talks despite the apparent hurdles to an early settlement.

The two delegations then split into four working groups, following the earlier pattern, to have separate discussions in depth on the

border problem, trade and economic relations, science and technology, and educational and cultural exchanges. But a notable feature of the first day's proceedings this time was that the leaders of the two delegations and their principal colleagues joined the working group dealing with the border question in what was later described as a mini-plenary to spell out their respective approaches to this issue in more precise terms in the privacy of this restricted session.

The two sides took down copious notes of what each other said to study the nuances carefully and size up the new approaches to discern whether there were any significant changes from their earlier positions. The first impression of the Indian and Chinese delegations was that there were signs of some flexibility from both sides which needed to be probed further before arriving at any firm conclusion whether the current round would open the way for substantive discussions.

Apart from these bare indications, no details were available of what exactly transpired in the boundary group this afternoon, when the Indian and Chinese officials re-assembled to take a fresh look at their approaches to the problem, since the two delegations were maintaining complete secrecy over the details of these discussions. After the two sides had said what they wanted to say on the subject and offered the necessary elucidation of their approaches and attitudes, the talks would be adjourned for two days on Wednesday and Thursday to let them consult their respective Governments before re-assembling on Friday for the second part of this fourth round due to conclude with a closing plenary session on Saturday afternoon.

**Package**

At one stage of these border discussions India suggested a sector by sector settlement

starting off with the middle sector where there were no major territorial disputes, but the Chinese then preferred a package approach to arrive at what they called a comprehensive settlement based on the existing realities in all the three sectors. It meant cessation of entire Aksai Chin and other territory occupied in Ladakh through military action in 1962 in return for the recognition of the McMahon line in the north east which from India's point of view was clearly unacceptable.

The present effort is aimed at finding some middle ground between these diametrically opposite approaches as a starting point for meaningful negotiations. It was too early today to assess the trend of the latest exchanges and foresee how far China would be prepared to go to open the way for a positive dialogue that could step by step lead to an equitable political solution acceptable to both sides.

It was equally important for India to wait and see, before making any firm commitments, how China is going to conduct the impending border talks with Bhutan. It had lately altered the pattern of patrolling to lay fresh claims to

more territory as a sort of prelude to these negotiations presumably to enhance its bargaining position.

The Indian participants in the boundary group include Mr. P. K. Bhadwar, Joint Secretary in charge of the China division and Mr. Ranjit Sathi, presently High Commissioner to Malaysia who previously headed this division, besides Mr. G. S. Rao, former Ambassador to Mongolia, another China expert.

The Chinese officials include Mr. Tu Guowei and Mr. Gao Zhengqi, head and deputy head of the office of the Sino-Indian Boundary Affairs in the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Mr. Chen Songlu, Deputy Director in the Asia department dealing with Sino-Indian relations.

The leaders of the two delegations, Mr. Bajpai and Mr. Gong Dafei, and their principal colleagues, including the Indian and Chinese Ambassadors, Mr. A. P. Venkateswaran, and Mr. Chen Jian would be available for consultations and even participation as and when required in the discussions of various groups dealing with different aspects of Sino-Indian relations.

## Second Day's Talks

Andras HU HISSB In English 26 Oct 83 p 9

[Article by C. ... ]

[Text]

NEW DELHI, Oct. 25

The first phase of the current Sino-Indian border talks ended today and, after a two-day recess, the dialogue would be resumed on Friday before the conclusion of the fourth round on Saturday afternoon.

The leader of the Chinese delegation, Mr. Gong Dafei, and his principal colleagues were to have called today on the External Affairs Minister, Mr. P. V. Narasimha Rao, but the meeting was put off till Friday since the recently constituted committee on national security was due to meet about the same time to review the Punjab situation.

The Chinese delegation, accompanied by the Indian Ambassador to China, Mr. A. P. Venkateswaran, and the head of the East Asia Division in the External Affairs Ministry, Mr. P. K. Bhadwar, is leaving tomorrow for Khajuraho and Agra on a sight-seeing trip and will be back in Delhi on Thursday night to prepare for the second phase of the discussions on the border problems. The two-day recess will be utilised by the two sides to report to their Governments and receive instructions for carrying the dialogue forward in the light of what had been said by them during the first phase of the discussions.

**Reply to proposal:** The Indian delegation has not yet replied to the implicit Chinese offer to discuss the border issue sector by sector

within the framework of Beijing's package proposition for what has been described as a comprehensive solution. In mootng this idea earlier, India first envisaged a sector by sector settlement, but it agreed later to have only a sector-wise examination of the disputed boundary as part of an integral and not compartmental approach to the problem.

So it remains to be seen whether the Indian and Chinese delegations will be able to arrive at an understanding on this important procedural aspect before the conclusion of the current round of discussions, or whether this crucial point will be left open to be settled at the next round after the two sides have had more time to study its wider implications. The Indian concept of dividing the 3,500-km border into three broad sectors even for this limited purpose is not shared by China which has pro-

jected its territorial claims to 145,000 square km (50,000 square miles) of territory in shorter segments in the past.

It is not really relevant whether this examination in depth of the rival positions with a view to narrowing down the differences is done in broader sectors or shorter sub-sectors, so long as the discussions are held in a constructive spirit to bring about a comprehensive settlement. The present political climate does not appear to be conducive enough for such a breakthrough at this stage of discussions for resolving this highly complex problem, since Sino-Indian relations have not yet improved to the point at which the two sides can talk candidly in terms of a solution based on a balance of equitable concessions.

**No heat:** The exchanges on the international situation, reflecting sharp divergences between the Indian and Chinese views on issues like Kampuchea and Afghanistan, took place without generating any hard feelings on either side. The Pakistan and Sri Lanka situations did not come up for formal discussion, but the two subjects would be touched upon during informal contacts.

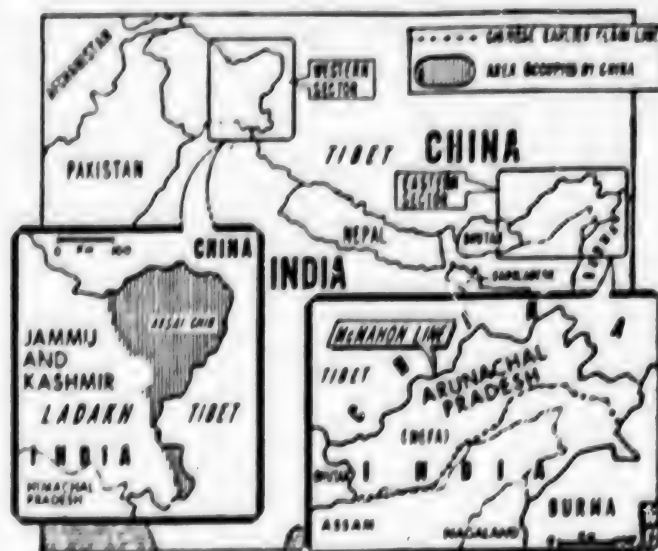
The discussions in the other working groups dealing with trade and economic cooperation, science and technology, and educational and cultural exchanges were proceeding smoothly without attracting much attention, while the main interest remained focussed on the deliberations of the boundary group which was edging forward with utmost caution without abandoning hopes of an ultimate solution.

Mr. Gong Dafei, who is his country's Vice Foreign Minister, in his introductory remarks, had observed that India and China were united by common mountains and rivers, not merely by history and tradition, conveniently glossing over the painful fact that the two great Asian countries had been divided in recent years by these very geographical factors that led to the border conflict.

**Housing problem:** A mini-territorial issue that is casting a shadow over this gigantic border problem is the continued Chinese refusal to compensate India for its old embassy premises in Beijing's legation quarter which was acquired in 1966 for city development.

Though India had allotted China a 36-acre plot, the largest in Delhi's diplomatic enclave as far back as in 1960, China had not bothered to give India even a four-acre one in Beijing, with the result that the Indian Embassy is obliged to function from rented premises.

The Indian delegation would be raising this issue during the current discussions to demand early action to settle this matter involving only a few acres of land without waiting interminably for the settlement of the infinitely bigger border dispute.



## ANALYST DESCRIBES REACTION TO ACTION IN GRENADA

Madras THE HINDU in English 27 Oct 83 p 1

[Article by G. K. Reddy]

[Text]

NEW DELHI Oct 26

The Government of India has strongly opposed the invasion of Grenada and called for an immediate withdrawal of all foreign forces to allow this little Caribbean State to manage its own affairs in freedom without outside intervention.

In a carefully worded statement issued by an official spokesman, India did not name the United States as such, but made quite clear otherwise that it was joining the rest of the world community in condemning the world community in condemning the American military action.

The statement said, "No country has a right to impose a regime or system of Government of its own preference on another country." It added, "The invasion of Grenada by outside forces cannot be justified and it is inconsistent with basic laws of international behaviour. The Government of India is strongly opposed to interference and intervention by any country in another."

**Tense already**

"We consider it necessary and desirable," the statement stressed, "that big and powerful countries should act with maximum restraint in their dealings with independent nations."

"The situation in Central America and the Caribbean is already charged with tension and strain. Foreign military intervention can only aggravate these and perpetuate instability and conflict in the region."

The spokesman said the Government of India viewed the developments in Grenada with "grave concern." The killing of the Prime Minister of the country, Mr. Maurice Bishop, and several of his Cabinet colleagues had caused consternation and dismay in India and other non-aligned nations. "We were looking forward" he added to receiving Mr. Bishop in Delhi in November for the Commonwealth conference.

In the absence of the U.S. Ambassador, Mr. Hary Barnes, and his deputy chief of mission Mr. Marion Creekmore, who are away from Delhi, the political counsellor of the American Embassy, Mr. Grant Smith, called at the External Affairs Ministry both yesterday and today to convey the U.S. decision to intervene in Grenada and point out this military action was being taken at the request of the other countries in the region. But he was told that India strongly deplored this step and asked to convey its grave concern to Washington.

The permanent representative of India at the United Nations, Mr. N. Krishnan, was instructed to convene urgently a meeting of the non-aligned Coordination Bureau to condemn the American action and also call for a meeting of the Security Council to discuss it. But meanwhile Nicaragua took the initiative and the Security Council met at short notice to consider this grave development.

**Unanimity unlikely**

The five Caribbean countries — Jamaica, Barbados, Antigua, St. Lucia and St. Vincent — not only belong to the non-aligned movement like Grenada, but are also members of the Commonwealth along with it. The U.S. has also other supporters in the non-aligned movement and there can be no unanimity in the Coordination Bureau adopting a condemnatory resolution without some sort of apology for the U.S. action.

There is little that India can do as chairman of the non-aligned movement in this unfortunate situation other than strongly disapproving the American invasion of Grenada, a member of the community, and expect others to take up a principled stand against this military action. After the statement was issued this evening strongly opposing the U.S. invasion, the scene of activity shifted to the United Nations where the Coordination Bureau is due to meet at short notice in an emergency session.

## PANEL SET UP TO DEAL WITH INTERNAL SECURITY

Madras THE HINDU in English 27 Oct 13 p 9

[Article by G. K. Reddy]

[Text]

NEW DELHI Oct 26

The Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, has constituted a Cabinet committee on national security in addition to the Political Affairs Committee to deal exclusively with internal problems impinging on the country's integrity, communal harmony and orderly administration.

The committee, which is presided over by the Prime Minister herself, has as its members the Finance Minister, Mr. Pranab Mukherjee, the Home Minister, Mr. P. C. Sethi, the External Affairs Minister, Mr. P. V. Narasimha Rao, and the Defence Minister, Mr. R. Venkataraman.

The meetings of the committee are attended by the Principal Secretary to the Prime Minister, Dr. P. C. Alexander, the Cabinet Secretary, Mr. C. R. Krishnaswamy Rao Sahib, and Mr. R. N. Kao, the Chief Security Adviser to the Government who functions concurrently as chairman of the Senior Intelligence Board coordinating the activities of all agencies dealing with internal and external intelligence.

The Prime Minister has been considering since a long time a suggestion to set up a national security agency on the lines of the apex body functioning in the U.S. directly under the President. But after a careful study of the American and British political systems and administrative procedures, the idea was given up since it was thought that the creation of such an agency would not be compatible with the responsibilities of a Cabinet form of Government.

**Senior Intelligence Board:** It has, therefore, been decided to have a special Cabinet committee dealing exclusively with problems of internal security, leaving external security matters involving foreign policy and defence preparedness to the existing decision-making processes of the Government. It is in consequence of this decision that the Senior Intelligence Board has been set up to oversee and coordinate, assess and evaluate the information gathered from different sources for

advising the Government on both internal and external security problems through the relevant Cabinet committees.

The Senior Intelligence Board (SIB) headed by Mr. Kao consists of the two chairmen of the recently bifurcated Joint Intelligence Committee (JIC), Mr. P. P. Nayyar and Mr. S. M. Warty, who coordinate internal and external intelligence, and the directors of the Intelligence Bureau (IB) and the Research and Analysis Wing (RAW), Mr. R. K. Kapur and Mr. G. C. Saxena, who run the two field organisations.

It is too early yet for the Government to arrive at a firm conclusion whether this new security structure is better suited to Indian conditions or it will only lead to further bureaucratisation by hampering the initiative at lower levels and creating more bottlenecks at the higher levels of the Government. But it has enabled the Prime Minister to take quicker decisions in coping with the current challenges in Punjab and elsewhere by having the benefit of the vast experience of the highly dedicated officers at the helm in an institutionalised and well-coordinated form, without going through the time-consuming process of receiving reports routed through different Ministers and committees.

**Over-burdened:** The need for having a separate Cabinet committee on national security has arisen because the omnibus Political Affairs Committee, which has been functioning more as an inner Cabinet than a committee dealing with specific issues, has had no time to devote much attention to internal security matters since it was already over-burdened with a lot of routine work, including the clearance of defence contracts in the absence of a proper defence committee of the Cabinet. The new committee is going to become increasingly important because of the anticipated political turmoil with the approach of the next parliamentary elections.

## DELHI URGED TO EXPEDITE TALKS WITH SRI LANKA

Madras THE HINDU in English 26 Oct 83 p 12

[Text]

MADRAS, Oct 25

The Finance Minister, Mr. V. R. Nedunchezian, today urged the Government of India to accelerate the process of negotiation with the Sri Lanka Government to halt the committal of incessant atrocities on the Tamils in the island.

All possible steps should be taken without delay to solve the grievances of the minority Tamils in Sri Lanka, as they strongly felt that only through the influence of and the efforts taken by the Government of India they would get protection and citizenship rights, the Minister said, while moving a resolution in the Tamil Nadu Assembly on the Sri Lanka problem.

The resolution, he said, cut across party differences and expressed the feelings of five-crore Tamils in the State. The various political parties in Tamil Nadu, workers, teachers and students had unitedly and individually expressed their grave concern and shock at the atrocities unleashed by the Sinhalese extremists on the innocent Tamils. The resolution was now aimed at strengthening the hands of the Central Government to take intensive action and find a permanent solution to the problem.

Mr. Nedunchezian said the plea for a separate State and other such demands were issues to be sorted out by the Tamils in Sri Lanka with their local Government and leaders through negotiation. What Tamil Nadu and the rest of the country was interested was over the larger question of ensuring human rights, including citizenship, and protection for the Tamils in the island. The Sri Lanka Government should withdraw the barbarous legislation it had introduced to deprive the Tamils of their rights of citizenship, voting and carrying on business.

The Minister said the Tamils in the island should be given an opportunity to participate in a round table conference to find a solution to the problem.

**P.M. praised:** Initiating a three-day discussion, Mr. N. Sundararaj (Cong-I) commended the Chief Minister, Mr. M. G. Ramachandran for handling the Sri Lanka problem with tact, and said the Prime Minister, Mrs. Gandhi, had earned the gratitude of the

people of Tamil Nadu for taking constructive steps to save the Sri Lanka Tamils. Leaders like Mr. Amirthalingam, he pointed out, had acknowledged that the visit of the Indian Foreign Minister had helped in the restoration of law and order in the island. The spontaneous response of the people to the bandh call demonstrated their deep concern over the happenings in Sri Lanka.

Mr. A. Rahman Khan (DMK) took exception to the resolution expressing "gratitude to the Prime Minister for taking all possible and constructive steps to solve the problem". He contended that in spite of the unanimous demand of the people of Tamil Nadu and the all-party delegation to Delhi led by the Chief Minister, the Prime Minister had not taken any effective action to stop the killings in Sri Lanka and ensure security and peace for the Tamils in the island. He said Mrs. Gandhi had not only not condemned the ethnic violence, but had also refused to press the U.N. to send a peace-keeping force to the island as requested in the all-party memorandum presented to her. So far she had done very little in the matter, and the action taken was belated and due only to the spontaneous outburst of the people of Tamil Nadu.

Referring to the Chief Minister making a plea to the leaders of various groups of Tamils in Sri Lanka to shed their differences and reach an understanding on the larger issues, Mr. Rahman Khan alleged that there was no agreement even among the Ministers in the State Cabinet. While the Agriculture Minister advocated India sending its Army to Sri Lanka in support of the suffering Tamils, the Information Minister spoke derisively of the suggestion.

**No differences among Ministers:** Provoked by the dig at his colleagues, the Finance Minister made it clear that there was no difference among the Ministers on the issue. He said the opinions of individuals might differ, and the degree of reaction to an event might vary from person to person, but the decision of the party and its leader was final and every member was bound by it. The position had already been clarified.

The DMK member was critical of the State

Government saying that it had no stand of its own, but only echoed whatever the Prime Minister expressed on the issue. The AIADMK had not supported the 'Eelam' demand because the Prime Minister had said she was against separation.

Intervening, Mr. Nedunchezian pointed out that it was not proper "for us in Tamil Nadu to dictate to

the Sri Lanka leaders on what they should want or have: all we are interested in is to see that the Tamils in the island — whether citizens of Sri Lanka or India or the Stateless — are able to live in peace and content."

When Mr. Rahman Khan regretted that the resolution did not take note of the resignation of the DMK President, Mr. M. Karunanidhi, and the General Secretary, Mr. K. Anbazhagan from the House to express their anguish over the killing of Tamils in Sri Lanka, the Finance Minister remarked that he and his party even now felt that they should not have resigned. "Their concern for the Tamils and their sense of sacrifice are well-known", he said.

Mr. M. Vincent (AIADMK) pointed out that the strategy adopted by the State Government and the Centre, as also the various steps taken by the Prime Minister towards restoring peace in the island, were appreciated even by the political adversaries of Mrs. Gandhi. He accused the DMK of trying to make political capital out of the Sri Lanka issue.

Mr. M. Sivasithamparan, President of TULF, and other leaders of Sri Lanka Tamils, who are now in the City, watched the proceedings from the Speaker's gallery for some time, especially when the Finance Minister spoke moving the resolution.

The discussion will continue tomorrow.

CSO: 4600/1188

## ANALYST TELLS DELHI REACTION TO ENVOY'S SHOOTING

Madras THE HINDU in English 26 Oct 83 p 1

[Article by G. K. Reddy]

[Text]

NEW DELHI, Oct. 25.

The new ambassador of Jordan, Mr. Mohammed Ali Khourma, who arrived in Delhi only two months back, was seriously wounded when an unidentified foreign terrorist fired several shots at him outside his residence this afternoon.

The envoy was rushed to a nearby embassy hospital in the diplomatic enclave in a critical condition for immediate treatment and later operated upon at the All India Institute of Medical Sciences to save his life, if possible.

The assailant fled from the scene after forcing the driver of a three-wheeler scooter at gunpoint to take him to Connaught Place, where he jumped out in front of a cinema house at a busy intersection and disappeared in the crowd before anybody knew what had happened.

**Walking back home:** The ambassador, who was walking back to his official residence from the adjoining Chancery building, was hit by several bullets in his neck, stomach, arm and chest before he collapsed. The fleeing terrorist fired a few more shots to scare away the people who tried to chase him.

The Chief of Protocol and other officials rushed to the Jordanian embassy as soon as the Government came to know of this attempt on the ambassador's life. An official spokesman later expressed the Government's shock and distress over this cowardly act.

The police suspect that the terrorist probably belonged to one of the West Asian extremist groups engaged in similar assassination attempts. It appears that the Interpol had alerted many countries recently that some internationally known terrorists were out to engage in a similar acts of violence.

**Security tightened:** The Government had tightened security at various diplomatic missions, particularly at the Arab embassies to ensure the safety of their ambassadors and other senior personnel posted in Delhi. But there is no such thing as fool-proof security if a potential assassin is prepared to risk his own life.

As one of the safest and freest capitals in the world for foreign diplomats, Delhi has not witnessed any such assassination attempts in the past except for the murder of a Kuwaiti diplomat last year which was motivated by personal rather than political reasons. But today's shooting incident has caused grave concern to the Government, since it has coincided with the increasing wave of domestic violence. It has also posed serious security problems on the eve of the visit next month of Queen Elizabeth and the Commonwealth conference.

**Escapes through bylane:** The assailant, wearing grey kurta and pyjamas, clean shaven and stated to be of medium height having fair complexion, escaped through a bylane and jumped into a waiting autorickshaw. Police said the vehicle was later found abandoned in Connaught Place, reports PTI.

Tej Pal, a sweeper at the embassy, said he ran after the assailant for some distance, but was scared when the latter fired two shots in the air. A Sikh, travelling on a two-wheeler, also gave up the chase.

Mrs. Thomas, wife of the cook at the ambassador's residence, said she was waiting near the crossing when she saw the assailant opening fire with an automatic weapon. The ambassador clutched his stomach and fell down wailing, Mrs. Thomas said. She said blood was oozing out of several wounds and the ambassador's clothes were completely stained.

After being momentarily stunned, she started screaming for help. But, according to her, no one near the place of the incident, offered to chase the assailant or help the ambassador.

She quickly summoned the chowkidar (guard) at the residence who in turn called a bearer, Babu Ram, the profusely bleeding Mr. Khourma to help into the embassy car and rush him to the American embassy hospital. According to the police, the ambassador was conscious throughout and is believed to have said that he recognised his assailant. "I have seen him".

## MINISTER, PANEL DISCUSS TECHNOLOGY IMPORTS

Madras THE HINDU in English 26 Oct 83 p 6

[Text]

NEW DELHI, Oct 25

The Commerce Minister, Mr. Vishwanath Pratap Singh, yesterday rejected a demand from representatives of the industry to bring technology imports under the open general licence (OGL) but agreed to the adoption of a more liberal but selective approach to the question.

Intervening in the discussions at a one-day meeting of the reconstituted Central Advisory Council for Trade, he welcomed a suggestion for working out a national agricultural policy with adequate safeguards for export commitments. He agreed to look into a suggestion by Mr. Raunag Singh, president of the Associated Chambers, for making available waste-lands for developing export based horticulture and called for specific proposals.

**Intensive development for export:** The Minister also agreed to examine suggestions by some eminent economists to select about five sectors for intensive development for export purposes, like plastic, leather goods and garments, agricultural and marine products other than shrimps and prawns, gold jewellery and toys where India had comparative advantage.

Mr. V. P. Singh announced the Government's acceptance of the demand for setting up a separate Central Advisory Council for the textile industry, independent of the Advisory Council for Trade.

The suggestion for bringing technology imports under the OGL came from one of the

speakers. Another suggested the import of marketing technology and permission to invite foreign marketing specialists and technocrats to offer guidance to Indian businessmen. Some others, however, cautioned against such a step and called for a more selective approach, even in regard to advanced fields like computers and electronics.

**More power to industries:** It was pointed out that even a 10 per cent increase in the availability of power to industries could result in the production of an exportable surplus of Rs 1,000 crores. Permission should, therefore, be given to industrial units to import diesel generating sets with larger capacity. Dr. Hannan Ezekiel, editor of *The Economic Times*, predicted that aid prospects in the coming years would continue to diminish and the country would have to increasingly depend on exports for its foreign exchange earnings and to meet external commitments. He felt that if exports to East Europe and petroleum exports were to be kept out of the list, the achievement would not be all that impressive.

Dr. Raja Chelliah of the National Institute of Public Finance and Policy, however, disagreed with this view, but agreed on the need for a change in the export strategy. Policies concerning the domestic production base called for a second look, he said.

Mr. Kamal Nath, MP called for changes in the fiscal policies to make export production competitive — PTI.

CSO 4600/1133

## IRAN

RAFSANJANI: 'U.S. IS SCARED TO ATTACK IRAN'

Tehran ETTELA'AT in Persian 2 Nov 83 p 3

[Text] The Islamic Republic of Iran's ambassadors and chargés d'affaires in Europe and the Americas, who had come to Iran to take part in a seminar, met with Mr Hashemi Rafsanjani, Speaker of the Majles, yesterday afternoon (Wednesday) accompanied by Dr Velayati, Foreign Minister, and certain officials of this ministry. During the meeting, Mr Velayati began by discussing the seminar's agenda and the meetings to be held between its participants and the country's officials. He said that each Iranian ambassador, charge d'affaires, and consul serving abroad will be returning to Iran twice a year in order to familiarize himself first hand with Iran's problems, and that this seminar has had good results. Then Hojjat ol-Eslam val-Moslemin Hashemi Rafsanjani, affirming the utility of such seminars, said: At this point in time we are having a problem with our foreign policy and propaganda, which is that we are committed to the teachings of Islam, and required to rely on the truth and reality; we cannot achieve our goals by lying and plotting, because lying and plotting will weaken our faith in our own action, and we will be unable to do the basic work.

While discussing the methods used by the Islamic Republic of Iran's opponents in their propaganda and foreign policy, he then gave examples of these methods from within Iran and abroad. He said: The freedom movement, thinking that it will not have enough votes in the elections and will be defeated, has resorted to trickery. Recently Mr Bazargan, in his remarks before the Majles which were broadcast live over the radio, stated that there is no freedom in Iran. If there were no freedom in Iran, they would not allow dissidents to speak live over the radio. Live broadcasts are reserved everywhere in the world for a select group of people who are committed to a system. The freedom movement, at a time when election campaigning is not to begin for another four to six months, without obtaining authorization from the Ministry of the Interior, announces that it is holding a seminar on the procurement of election freedoms. They invite a

few people to a seminar to discuss something, but public discussion and assembly do not occur in a single forum or before a seminar speaker. These people have all been recognized for what they are. They are doing this with a system that is sacrificing its best children. Even the name of this seminar carries the idea of dissidence; it says "there is no freedom, and we want to procure it."

If the Ministry of the Interior should authorize it, they will ask us for newspaper space, time on television and radio, and so on. If the Ministry of the Interior does not authorize it, they will announce that it has been cancelled because of its dissident nature. The Speaker of the Majles, referring to the active presence of the people at every moment of the revolution, resolving every problem, including the problem of the hypocrites, said: When the people were confronted with such ugly acts, they went to the place of their perpetration and the place of conflict and prevented their activities.

These people have turned this very thing into a new weapon. In a speech prior to today's (yesterday's) Majles agenda, they falsely portrayed the situation. For example, they said that the people were incited to do this during the Friday prayer sermon, and that around 300 armed personnel came to the seminar site, when the armed personnel were not the people, but had come to save them, and had gone there to take them home, which they did. They talked about this for ten minutes. I calmed down the representatives who were protesting so that they could finish speaking, but they kept talking after the specified ten minutes, and deliberately started a quarrel with a representative who wanted to prevent the talk's continuation. Their friends were stirring up trouble as well, so that this would be heard on the radio. Of course I don't want to say that these people are American supporters, and this is far from the issue at hand, but their methods are just like the ones used by those people abroad. The Majles speaker then referred to America's attack on the Island of Grenada in the name of six little countries. He said: For some time America has been using the bombing of the American Marine base by an angry nation. By enlarging it and exciting public opinion in various countries, it attacks Grenada and while committing this great crime, it talks of human rights. America is plotting against Nicaragua, which has had a popular revolution; its logic is that "we cannot tolerate communist countries near our country." This is unacceptable, of course, but using the same logic, how can they expect Muslim, Arab, and Third World countries to tolerate Israel as an economic, military, and intelligence foothold? We are confronted with such policies and devilry, and we do not have the news services and public networks, which are run by them, at our disposal. Hojjat ol-Eslam val-Moslemin Hashemi Rafsanjani, referring to the power of the Islamic revolution, and its ability to guard and close the

Straits of Hormoz, then said: If this lever were in the hands of adventuresome countries, they would be able to collect a lot of money in tolls from it, but we do not agree with such acts. If America does not attack Iran, it is because it is afraid. If America were to come to Iran, it would be inescapably caught in a swamp. America has no way to come to Iran, and it has learned this at Tabas. America has done everything it can concerning Iran, and it has enlisted the help of Iraq and Saudi Arabia as well. The Majles Speaker then referred to the collaboration between the superpowers against the Islamic revolution of Iran. He said: The United States and the Soviet Union either have a mutual understanding, or each one makes use of the atmosphere of confusion caused by the other. When America attacked Grenada, the Soviet Union moved 30,000 more troops into Afghanistan.

Reaffirming the fact that Iran cannot use such tactics, he said: Despite this, we do not even make much use of our weapons of truth. We can make clear use of our economic leverage to reach our political goals; in one instance we did this with regard to Japan, and they were forced to submit to a bartering trade arrangement and to buy our oil. Mr Hashemi Rafsanjani then addressed himself to the Islamic Republic of Iran's ambassadors and chargés d'affaires in Europe and the Americas. He said: The world is not looking for truth and fairness, and we must defend Islam as do the children at the fronts. In a world that is at variance with your spirits, you must make great efforts, and even wage a holy crusade. You must devote yourselves day and night to the revolution, so that after a period of much work we will reach a point where the world will believe that we are taking our own rights, and that we do not want anyone else's rights. Then our work will be easier and we will be more experienced. While noting his satisfaction with the work that has been carried out to date by the Foreign Ministry, in conclusion the Speaker of the Majles expressed the hope that the ambassadors and chargés d'affaires outside the country would be a source of pride and honor for the Islamic Republic, and the voice of the forces of the partisans of God of Iran.

9310

CSO: 4640/37

# PAKISTAN'S ROLE IN GULF DISCUSSED

Paris AL-MUSTAQBAL in Arabic No 346, 8 Oct 83 pp 24-26

[Article by Riyad Najib al-Ra'is: "Guardians of the Gulf: Security Guards or Fifth Column?"]

[Text] The Arab world, sunk in innumerable problems, from the Lebanese War to the Palestinian War, the Iran—Iraq War, and even the wars in the Moroccan Sahara and Chad, would not care about what is happening in Pakistan, if it were not for the fact that events there will directly affect its situation and security and the future of its entities. In particular, they will affect the Arabian Gulf states.

If the Turks are coming while the Persians have made it inside the walls, then the Pakistanis have for years been the guards of states whose owners are afraid that they will be stormed by Iran or the Soviet Union. The Pakistani guards are not to be trusted, for the keys to the gates of the Gulf are not with them. There may be a portion of these keys in Ankara or Washington. Pakistani-Turkish-American cooperation on the eastern wing of the Arab world from 'Amman to Iraq, within the arc which extends through Pakistan and Afghanistan and passes through Iran to Turkey, following the borders of the Soviet Union, is the heart of the matter.

The Arab world, which has been busy for the last 10 years with a group of wars unlike any its contemporary history has known and unlike those experienced by any single state since independence, has seen the borders of its political and military horizons be rolled back, so that it can no longer tell the forest from the trees. The characteristics of its strategy have become narrow, and its gaze has been limited to the interior of its entities. In order to see Pakistan's goals, the Arab world must look beyond its nose, which is stuck in the small wars being waged within its borders.

The disturbances occurring in Pakistan now are a matter of concern for every Arab state, and especially every Gulf state. Indeed, their influence on the Arabian Peninsula and its states is more important than the events in Iran which preceded the fall of the Shah and followed the emergence of the revolution, as well as being more important than the effects of those events on the Arabian Gulf. Just as the disturbances in Iran shook the Gulf states and

changes many of the verities dominant in the region, so will the events in Pakistan. But they will be more serious.

How is this so, and why?

Pakistan is the only non-Arab state which possesses a truly effective military presence within a large number of Arabian Gulf states. It has trainers, experts, advisors, officers, soldiers, servants, mercenaries, and Janisaries. It has all this and more. The important thing here is that Pakistan is the backbone of American military strategy in the region of the Arabian Peninsula. The Pakistani regime, as it is presently structured, is the mainstay of the western strategy in Central Asia. The Pakistani-Turkish bridge has begun to be supported recently by the exchange of military expertise and joint cooperation on the military level, and by Ziaul Haq's attempt to emulate the Turkish political experiment of Kenan Evren, the current Turkish ruler in Ankara, on the political level.

Ziaul Haq, the crude Pakistani military man, swept Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, the parliamentary, popular, party-based politician, out of power in a military coup 6 years ago. Kenan Evren, a still cruder Turkish military man, also used a military coup 5 years ago to sweep Sulayman Demirel, a parliamentary, popular, party-based politician, from power. Both coups occurred with the approval of the United States under the slogan of eliminating political chaos and the fear of leftist penetration. Because Turkey is close to Europe and a member of NATO, the Turkish regime moved more quickly than Pakistan to invent a kind of democracy. This democracy was distinguished by the fact that it was tailor-made for the regime. Moreover, parties could be formed only with the approval of the regime. Elections were held in which only those favored by the military won.

Despite this, Turkey's artificial democracy is still rejected by its European partners in NATO, who have older and more genuine democracies. After disappointing the Pakistani people for years with his promises that democracy would return, Ziaul Haq has decided in the last few weeks to borrow Turkey's experience in the area of forming parties, holding elections, and legislating democracy. This is an attempt on his part to stop the popular revolution which has exploded in his face and begun to threaten his regime. Thus, what Ziaul Haq is trying to do in Pakistan is an experiment in truth by which falsehood is intended.

When the regime of General Muhammad Ziaul Haq began its experiment in holding local elections last week in preparation for parliamentary elections which could be held in months or years, following a chain of false promises which had lasted for 6 years of arbitrary military rule and dictatorial martial law decrees, the election campaign turned into savage battles between Sunnis and Shi'is in the province of al-Sind and the suburbs of its capital of Karachi. Such battles did not use to happen before Ziaul Haq turned Pakistan into a revolutionary, republican Islamic state. He imposed this state in an attempt to benefit from the Islamic revolutionary fervor created by Iran in the region and from the conservative, traditional Islam supported by some Arab states. With his new Islamic laws and his way of applying them, Ziaul Haq

created a state of enmity between the Sunnis and the Shi'is rare in Pakistan. It is similar to the state of enmity which arose between the Hindus and Muslims when the Indian subcontinent was divided as independence was achieved in 1946. At that time, the Pakistani entity, with its western and eastern wings, was created. The eastern wing later became Bangladesh, following a war lost by generals of Ziaul Haq's type.

Suddenly, in the midst of the most violent unrest Pakistan has known under General Ziaul Haq, the American secretary of defense, Caspar Weinberger, arrived in the Pakistani capital of Islamabad last week. He was greeted by the masses of the angry Pakistani people. They bore signs saying: "Down with American imperialism. Down with Zionism," and they burned the American flag in front of him. The party figures, intellectuals and politicians who are calling for a return to parliamentary democracy in Pakistan considered the visit of the American defense secretary at just this time to be a "confirmation of the Reagan administration's support for the Ziaul Haq regime and its opposition to the desires of the people of Pakistan." A statement by the Movement for the Return of Democracy warned that continued American support for the dictatorial regime of Ziaul Haq would lead to the same fate which overtook the Shah of Iran and his regime, as well as the United States, when the Iranian revolution occurred.

America's support and backing of the regime of Ziaul Haq was embodied in the increase in American military and economic aid for Pakistan.

This increase took place under cover of the desire of the United States to see Pakistan be a fortress of the West standing in the way of the Soviet Union in the aftermath of the invasion of Afghanistan by the latter. This year, American military and economic aid reached \$3.5 billion.

Ziaul Haq and his soldiers were not thinking about the increases in American assistance to their country during last week's negotiations with the American defense secretary. Rather, Zia was thinking about how ready the United States was to adhere to its commitment to preserve his regime in the face of the expected escalation in the disturbances which his opposition would be getting ready for in the coming days. More important still was what the Pakistani regime was really worried about: the extent of America's desire and readiness to block or prevent any possible Indian intervention against Ziaul Haq should the situation degenerate into a military confrontation between himself and the opposition, on one hand, and himself and India, on the other. The fears of Ziaul Haq did not prevent the regime's newspaper, the PAKISTAN TIMES, from accusing America of being "an untrustworthy ally."

All these Pakistani fits remind one of the Iranian illnesses which swept away the Shah and eliminated his regime. But there is one simple difference: Ziaul Haq, via his minister of information, Raja Zafarullah Haq (no relation to Zia), has accused the world's press and news media, because of their interest in the disturbances in his country, of being in the grip of the Jews. The very next day, the information minister himself explained apologetically that Pakistan, as an Islamic state, had all the respect in the world for the Jews and their prophets. However, he said that the enemies of Pakistan

controlled the international news media, which are owned by the Zionist supporters of Israel. That did not prevent the Pakistani information minister from including the foreign minister of India among the enemies of Pakistan, merely because he had made a statement in which he evinced his "worry" concerning the events in Pakistan. The Pakistani minister chose to consider that statement interference in the internal affairs of his country, though he knew that the foreign minister of India is neither a Jew nor a Zionist.

Political observers have not missed the fact that in Pakistan even some of those who sympathize with Ziaul Haq think that his regime has achieved nothing in the 6 years since it was founded. The internal security situation is worse now than it ever has been. The decay of internal national unity that began after East Pakistan (Bangladesh) was lost and the deepening gap between the Sunnis and the Shi'is in the shadow of a single Islamic state have destroyed the very foundations of Pakistan itself. The decision to invite the Afghanis to flee into Pakistan, to provide them with money and arms, and to look after their camps was an economic and political disaster. The Pakistani economy has not grown. Money from abroad in the form of aid or transfers from emigre Pakistanis has been lost due to chaos, corruption and poor utilization, instead of being invested. This has gone so far that the regime "can no longer swat the flies away from the sweets in the markets."

The Gulf countries, via their long interaction with Pakistan, know how old the Pakistani military is. The oldest military academy in the region was and is in Pakistan. The Gulf people know as well that the Pakistani soldiers working for them possess a certain competence. However, at the same time they have an Islamic identity which qualifies them for the role the Gulf people have given them in their countries. The competence of the Pakistani soldiers has not been their only passport. Rather, their Islamic quality and their long experience in "Janissary" work have been other reasons why others have employed them. In addition, since Pakistan became an independent state, it has been closely tied to the United States and the West. It has carried the banner of opposition to communism and Soviet influence. This has helped make it acceptable to all the countries of the Arabian Peninsula. Since it was founded, Pakistan has been a member, along with its two neighbors, Iran and Turkey, of the Western alliances on the borders of the Soviet Union, beginning with the Baghdad Pact and including CENTO and joint coordination with the regime of the Shah in Iran and the Turkish civilian regime only yesterday, and with the Turkish military regime today.

The Soviet presence in Afghanistan increased the western burden on Pakistan, which was transformed into an essential supply line for the Afghan fighters and their military operations against the Soviet army in Afghanistan. Pakistan also became a refuge for about 2 million Afghan refugees. Neither the visit of Zbigniew Brzezinski, the national security advisor of the last American president, Carter, to the Pakistan/Afghanistan lines 4 years ago, nor the visit paid by Margaret Thatcher, the prime minister of Britain, to the Pakistani-Afghan border 2 years ago, nor the visit by Caspar Weinberger, the American defence secretary, to the Afghanis' positions on the Pakistani front, has been able to convince anyone that the West is serious about its confrontation with the Soviet Union in Afghanistan. The United States and its

western allies have not been able to give Pakistan a thing in the face of the Soviet military presence in Afghanistan, with the exception of more of the aid which the regime of Ziaul Haq has spent on domestic oppression and its military preparations against India, which it fears more than it does the Soviet Union.

The heavy Afghan presence in Pakistan is creating a state of imbalance in the country and placing a burden on the Pakistani Government. Therefore, in recent months the government has begun to stop fulfilling the requests of the Afghan fighters, while starting to hinder their presence. It has become convinced that the Afghan issue is over, and that the whole thing has been subsumed by an American-Soviet reconciliation deal.

However, if the Afghan issue is "over," either because of the fact of the Soviet presence in Afghanistan or because of an American-Soviet deal, then does this mean that the question of Pakistan's existence as a state is still open for discussion?

On the whole, the answer is yes. As the founding of Pakistan has receded into the past, files have been opened and papers uncovered, it has become clear that the creation of the state of Pakistan was a serious mistake, and that Mohammad Ali Jinnah dedicated himself to insisting on this mistake when he pushed for the partitioning of India into two states. Although more than half a century has passed since the Pakistani entity was created to be the state of the Muslims in India, Pakistan has not been able to solve the problem of the Muslims in India. Rather, the problems of the Muslims in Pakistan have become greater than in any other country in the world. The Muslims in India, who are a minority numbering 40 million souls, are not treated any worse than Pakistan treats its Muslim citizens, although it is a country which was set up essentially to protect the Muslims. Rather, the opposite has happened. For more Muslim blood was spilled in vain in Pakistan between its west wing, which is the Pakistan of today, and its east wing, which is Bangladesh today, than was spilled in vain in India when the Indian sub-continent was partitioned at the time of independence. The things Mohammad Ali Jinnah, "the great leader," said to justify the creation of this political entity no longer work today in light of the experience of 40 years filled with accumulated errors and escalating failure.

The danger of the partition of Pakistan is a serious matter and a real possibility. The regime of Ziaul Haq has made coexistence among the peoples of Pakistan's four provinces--the Punjabis, Sindis, Pathans (the inhabitants of the Northwest) and Baluchis--extremely difficult. It has made the danger of Baluchistan seceding a serious matter. Just as Baluchistan could secede, so could Punjab and Sind.

However, the probability of the Balkanization of Pakistan has to worry the Gulf states, because it would have an effect on the region as a whole and on the region's Pakistani workers, who have numerous tribal and provincial loyalties. Even leaving the possibility of the repartition of Pakistan aside, the Pakistani workers in the Gulf are already divided among themselves into those who support Ziaul Haq's regime and those who are opposed to it.

In addition, they are divided along tribal lines into Pathans, Punjabis and Baluchis, for in the last analysis, they must give their loyalty on the basis of tribal and provincial considerations.

Furthermore, one must take into consideration the fact the complex Pakistani dispute essentially can be reduced to two matters. First of all, there is democracy and the demand for the return of democratic institutions and guarantees in order to stop the arbitrary rule of the military. Secondly, there is the desire to stop the supremacy of one tribal/provincial group (like the Punjabis today) over another such group which feels that it has been swindled out of its rights. This is how the Sindis and the Baluchis feel. This is exactly what happened before. It led to the secession of East Pakistan from West Pakistan and the creation of the state of Bangladesh. At that time, the Bengalis revolted against the rule of the Punjabi military in West Pakistan and against their domination of the fate of the Bengalis. They were led by Shaykh Mujib al-Rahman, who began by demanding the return of political parties and democracy and ended, after facing the oppression of the soldiers of Ayyub Khan, by completely seceding and calling on India to intervene militarily on his side.

It is possible that the earlier Pakistani secessionist experience will be repeated, though today its effects on the Gulf would be more serious. The slogan heard among the Pakistanis in the Gulf is democracy, not Balkanization. What is meant by multi-party, parliamentary democracy. The Gulf states possess no such institutions. If the secessionist experience were to reoccur, it might, if it escalated, lead to slogans and topics being spread which the Gulf states have no need of today. This is what could make the presence of the Pakistani workers on Gulf territory embarrassing, especially since Ziaul Haq has been successful in convincing the Gulf states that the Pakistanis, and especially the soldiers among them, are one of the guarantees of the stability of these regimes and a tool essential for protecting them.

Therefore, the Gulf Cooperation Council [GCC] must face a number of questions which are now current, beginning with a discussion of the slogan of democracy and ending with the question of whether the Pakistanis, the guardians of the Gulf's security, are really a protective and stabilizing tool capable of averting the chance of an armed invasion, as well as being dependable guards, or a fifth column within the Gulf. The Pakistanis, who are used to serving in other people's armies, and one of whose traditions is the exporting of military expertise, must face a choice in the days to come. Their hearts may be with the countries they serve and work in, but their swords could turn against Ziaul Haq, whom all the Gulf countries support and back. This will help to create a contradiction between the interests of the Gulf countries and the Pakistani citizens who live in them. The Pakistanis who live and work in the Gulf states are not concerned by the regimes in those states, except insofar as they provide the Pakistanis with their livelihood. However, they care a great deal about the regime in their own country and their right to have an opinion and take a position on events there. The two positions might collide, especially if a confrontation occurs on Gulf territory.

If Pakistan is Balkanized through a democratic rejection of the regime ruling there now, things will not stop within the framework of that country. As Arabs, we know the meaning of such a repudiation in light of our experience of the deterioration of the Arab situation due to the war in Lebanon. Therefore, we know that the Pakistani Balkanization projects might reach our shores, and that they will not be limited to Pakistan as we know it now. The new cartographers will not be satisfied with drawing one map for one country. Rather, there are new, modern maps of borders unknown to us which include our countries.

Therefore, the Gulf security song is being sung again, and the Fourth Gulf Conference will be held at Doha at the beginning of next month. An attempt must be made to remove the Pakistani straight razor from the Gulf's beard. In order for that attempt to be made, the GCC must take a serious stand. This stand must include the bitter facts which could make the experience of the Lebanese War and the Iran-Iraq War a mere pleasure trip by comparison.

But there is more to say on that.

12224

CSO: 4604/5

RELATIONS WITH INDIA, USSR TIED UP AFGHANISTAN ISSUE

Karachi J. NG in Urdu 31 Oct 83 p 3

[Article by Irshad Ahmed Haqani: "Mr Carduvez' Resignation"]

[Text] If the news from New York is correct, the personal representative of the UN secretary general, Mr Diego Carduvez, has asked to be relieved of his present responsibilities as a result of the deadlock in talks on Afghanistan. Pakistan, along with several other countries, should be worried, disappointed and concerned at this development. Mr Carduvez, is responsible for carrying out actions stemming from a General Assembly resolution. As personal representative of the secretary general, he oversaw the Geneva negotiations. The present secretary general held this position before moving up to replace Kurt Waldheim. The new secretary general appointed Mr Carduvez to manage negotiations on Afghanistan. For a start, he established direct relations with the Governments of Iran, Pakistan and Afghanistan. After overcoming initial problems, he paved the way for further direct talks. Two rounds of Geneva talks were completed (the last round in two phases). However, when the second phase, on which we had pegged high hopes, took such a disappointing turn, it seemed that we had regressed to the starting point. At the end of this round, knowledgeable circles observed that the talks had collapsed and there was no possibility of reopening the dialogue. Officially, neither side said anything about this failure. Even now, it is being said that Mr Carduvez will contact his associates soon. The situation indicates that those who hinted at a complete deadlock in the talks were not wrong. At that time, the Soviet bloc had blamed the United States for the failure of the Geneva talks. The Soviet ambassador to Pakistan and Mr Andropov himself had mentioned the role played by U.S. pressure. The writer of these lines told Mr Smirnov that Sahbzada Yaqub Khan, Pakistan's foreign minister, had denied any American pressure on Pakistan. Mr Smirnov replied diplomatically that he wished that Sahbzada Yaqub Khan were right. He added that he was positive of his assumptions and allegations. Later, other informed sources also blamed the United States for the failure of the Geneva talks. A few days ago, a former Pakistani ambassador to the United States expressed a similar opinion. The reason for this pressure is said to be that the United States does not want the USSR to escape the Afghan crisis on its own terms. The report that mentioned Mr Carduvez' resignation also explained that the United States planned to remain firm in its stand on the Afghanistan issue because of the increased tension between the United States and the Soviet

Union resulting from Iran's threat to close the Strait of Hormuz and other factors. This was the immediate reason for Mr Carduvez' request to be relieved of his duties.

What does this all show? The progress of talks on the Afghanistan issue is dependent on the whims of the United States. If this is true, then Pakistan should be concerned. We have repeated in this column that it would be more understandable if someone admitted even partial agreement between the United States and Pakistan on the Afghanistan issue. Complete agreement between the two countries is not possible since each has its own interests, limitations and preferences. Within this framework, in which Pakistan's interests are given a secondary position on the Afghanistan issue because U.S. attitudes and preferences are paramount in the final decision, the results might not be acceptable to Pakistan. Pakistan clearly wants the Soviet Army to leave Afghanistan at once so that:

1. We are relieved of the worries caused by having a superpower camped on our border.
2. The possibility of our relationship with the Soviet Union worsening can be minimized.
3. We can get rid of the 300,000 refugees, who are causing us economic, social and political problems.
4. Our valid desire to improve relations with India would have better chance of success, since our relations with India are linked to our relations with the Soviet Union.

The importance of attaining these goals is quite clear. The United States, however, would benefit by making it impossible for the Soviet Union to get out of Afghanistan. Even after the 1978 Afghan revolution, we should have tried to avoid a situation that might have led to Soviet interference in Afghanistan. On the contrary, American interests lie in Russia getting more and more involved in Afghanistan. Thus, after Noor Mohammad Taraki's revolt, the increased activities of the Mujahidins forced Russia to send in more soldiers. This was not in Pakistan's interests. Now our president is clearly saying that we are willing to accept a pro-Soviet government in Afghanistan. In other words, we are changing our pre-1979 attitude. It would have been better if such a situation had never arisen. Khan Abdul Wali, in an interview with this writer, branded Pakistan's pre-1978 policy as one of the things that brought the Soviet Army into Afghanistan. Recently, a former Pakistani ambassador repeated the same view.

Let bygones be bygones. It is clear that the Afghanistan problem is dependent on U.S.-Soviet relations or is prey to what is convenient for the United States. Pakistan is forced to accept it even at the cost of its national interests and independence. We have reiterated in this column that our relations with the USSR are strained because of our relations with Indira's India. We have to improve relations with both or neither. Our interests lie in a normal relationship with the two powers and this relationship is found

in a peaceful solution to the Afghanistan problem. We could understand if achieving this goal required a breach of our principles. But if the problems are caused by accommodation to another country's interests we should reconsider our stand and evaluate our benefits and losses in this issue. If our impression that we have promised to accommodate another's interests is correct, then we should abandon such promises. This impression is prevalent now and even well-informed Pakistanis believe it to be true.

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CSO: 4656/31

SHOORA QUESTION HOUR: HIRING OF SINDHIS FOR FEDERAL JOBS ORDERED

Karachi DAWN in English 11 Nov 83 p 20

[Text]

ISLAMABAD, Nov 10: The Majlis-i-Shoora was informed today that the President had issued special instructions for giving job opportunities to all those who had qualified Federal competitive examination in Sind rural areas, Baluchistan, Federal Tribal Areas and Azad Kashmir.

Maj.-Gen. (Retd) Rao Farman Ali Khan, Minister Incharge of the Establishment Division, answering a supplementary question during Question Hour said it was the first time in the history of Pakistan that a special Federal competitive examination was held to fill the unfilled vacancies in Sind rural areas.

Giving a policy statement on the recruitment of vacancies on all Pakistan level, he said quota system was strictly being observed according to the provision laid down in the Constitution for this purpose.

It was endeavour of the Government to provide job opportunities to maximum number of people, specially of backward areas.

He said service quota for the rural and urban areas of the Sind in the Federal services had been fixed separately. It helped in making up deficiencies of Sind (rural) since 1973 through various measures as holding of special examination in 1982.

About the details of the quota fixed for Federal services he stated: merit 10 per cent, Punjab 50 per cent, Sind rural 11.4 per cent,

Sind urban 7.6 per cent, NWFP 11.5 per cent, Northern Areas 4 per cent, Baluchistan 3.5 per cent. Azad Kashmir 2 per cent.

To a question from Ch. Sultan Ahmed Cheema, he said that there was no shortage of Urdu typists in the Federal Secretariat and there was no proposal to convert them into ex-cadre posts.

Mr Mahmood A. Haroon, Minister for Interior, informed the House that the total number of employees in Directorate General of Civil Defence, Islamabad was 65, Directorates of Immigration and Passports at Karachi, Lahore, Quetta and Islamabad 408 and the Federal Investigation Agency 2,430.

In reply to a question from Agha Saderuddin Durrani, he stated that in all there were 2,752 Indian immigrants who were granted Pakistani citizenship during 1980-81. He said 3,489 applications were received for citizenship and of these 240 were granted Pakistani citizenship during 1982.

The Minister gave negative reply to a question about any proposal under consideration of the Government to grant aid stipends to the heirs of those who got killed during the movement of the Nizam-i-Mustafa in 1977.

To a question, he said the total Iranian nationals in the country were 797 and the Iranian students were 407.—APP

## SENTENCES FOR UNIVERSITY TEACHERS CRITICIZED

Karachi DAWN in English 11 Nov 83 p 15

[Editorial]

[Text]

THREE young lecturers of three youngmen were arrested the Quaid-i-Azam University two years ago — on November 1, 1981. Their terms of imprisonment are to be counted from April 22, 1983, — when the Special Military Court in hearing of their case concluded, — nearly 18 months after they were arrested. Not only that this period could also be counted in the sentences, an appeal to the President for a revision of the Special Military Court's judgment may also be in order. Already, their teaching career at the Quaid-i-Azam University appears sealed. This in itself should be some punishment to the bright young persons who were found qualified for their jobs in the first instance. On the face of it, intellectual waywardness or dissent ought to be distinguished from socially abhorrent moral crimes. We hope that the higher Martial Law authorities will look into this matter with sympathy and understanding. After all, the three university teachers have already served a long time in prison. Making an example of educationists would not, in our opinion, serve the purposes of Martial Law and could have a deleterious impact on the highly aware community of teachers and university students.

CSO: 4600/139

BIHARIS' RESETTLEMENT: BRITISHER TO MAKE EFFORTS

Karachi DAWN in English 11 Nov 83 p 14

[Article by Yehia Syed]

[Text]

LONDON, Nov 10: The Rt Hon Lord Ennals of Norwich (former Labour MP, David Ennals), Chairman of the Asian Committee of the British Refugee Council and Chairman of the 'Stranded Pakistanis Re-settlement Project,' is leaving London on Nov 16, in a new attempt to find a solution to the 12-year-old problem of the Biharis stranded still in Bangladesh.

Lord Ennals is responding to the statement made by President Zia-ul-Haq on May 8, 1983, that if funds were to be provided by Islamic countries and welfare organisations to transport and resettle these people, he would then be willing to bring them back on 'his own shoulders.'

"I am meeting leading personalities in the governments of Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, the UAE and Bahrain, as well as the Secretariat of the Islamic Conference," Lord Ennals told 'Dawn' this morning. "I have submitted in advance a plan to raise 300 million dollars for a

resettlement programme of the stranded Biharis in Pakistan, to the Arab countries. International and national voluntary organisations have made offers to assist with skills training for young Biharis arriving in Pakistan, so that they may not be a drain on Pakistan's hard-pressed resources," Lord Ennals told me.

Pakistan, he added, has already absorbed over 160,000 non-Bengalis from Bangladesh in Pakistan.

Lord Ennals would be reaching Karachi in the morning of Nov 29, where he would be meeting the Press at the residence of his host, an old Parliamentarian, Mr Ahmed E.H. Jaffer, over breakfast.

Besides visiting Bihari Colony at Orangi, in Karachi, where he would be shown round by Mr Haseeb Hassan, Lord Ennals during his two-day halt at Karachi, before going to Islamabad, would be addressing Pakistan English-Speaking Union and the Rotary Club. He is expected back here on Dec 13 after his visits to Dhaka and Islamabad.

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14 DEC 1983